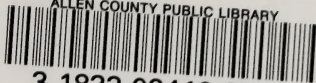


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EIGHTH BIENNIAL REPORT^u

NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION

OF THE

North Carolina Historical Commission

December 1, 1918, to
November 30, 1920

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1918-24

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OF THE
NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION
BULLETIN No. 27

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EIGHTH
BIENNIAL REPORT
OF THE
NORTH CAROLINA
HISTORICAL COMMISSION

1918-1920

North Carolina Historical Commission

J. BRYAN GRIMES, Raleigh, *Chairman*

FRANK WOOD, Edenton

M. C. S. NOBLE, Chapel Hill

D. H. HILL, Raleigh

THOMAS M. PITTMAN, Henderson

R. D. W. CONNOR, *Secretary*, Raleigh

Letter of Transmission

To His Excellency,

HON. T. W. BICKETT,

Governor of North Carolina.

SIR:—I have the honor to submit herewith for your Excellency's consideration the Biennial Report of the North Carolina Historical Commission, for December 1, 1918-November 30, 1920.

Respectfully,

J. BRYAN GRIMES,

Chairman.

RALEIGH, N. C., January, 1921.

BIENNIAL REPORT

OF THE

Secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission

DECEMBER 1, 1918, TO NOVEMBER 30, 1920

To HON. J. BRYAN GRIMES, *Chairman*, MESSRS. D. H. HILL, THOMAS M. PITTMAN, M. C. S. NOBLE, AND FRANK WOOD, *Commissioners*.

GENTLEMEN:—I have the honor to submit the following report of the work of the North Carolina Historical Commission for the period December 1, 1918-November 30, 1920.

ORGANIZATION

On April 1, 1919, the terms of Messrs. Thomas M. Pittman and M. C. S. Noble expired, but both were reappointed by the Governor for the term ending March 31, 1925.

Mr. W. J. Peele, who had served on the Commission since its organization in 1903, died on March 27, 1919, and to the vacancy thus created the Governor appointed Mr. Frank Wood, of Edenton, whose term will expire March 31, 1923.

At a meeting of the Commission held April 3, 1919, Hon. J. Bryan Grimes was reelected chairman, and R. D. W. Connor secretary, for the term ending March 31, 1921.

The vacancy in the office of legislative reference librarian, created by the death of Mr. W. S. Wilson, December 18, 1918, was filled at a meeting of the Commission held July 11, 1919, by the election of Mr. Henry M. London, who entered upon his duties August 1, 1919. His term will end on March 31, 1921.

WILLIAM JOSEPH PEELE

In the death of Mr. William J. Peele the Commission lost not only its oldest member in point of service, but also the man to whom primarily it owes its existence. The idea was his. He wrote the bill which created this Commission and secured its enactment into law. Appointed by Governor Aycock its first member, he was promptly selected by his colleagues as its first chairman and held that position until his voluntary retirement in 1907.

Under Mr. Peele's chairmanship the Commission was organized and began its work. Its beginnings were modest in the extreme. With an annual appropriation of only \$500, with a law which forbade the employment of any salaried official, without a staff, office, or equipment, or any provision for them for the first four years of its existence, the North Carolina Historical Commission was scarcely more than an idea. It was Mr. Peele's idea, and it was he who breathed into it the breath of life. How well he did it the history and development of the Commission itself, its present quarters and equipment, the existence of its present staff, its numerous lines of activity, its rich and varied collections, and its high reputation among its kind throughout the country, testify more convincingly than any words of ours. Mr. Peele's interest in the Commission was constant and intelligent, his services were quiet but invaluable, and he rarely attended a meeting which he did not signalize by some stimulating suggestion which helped to give vitality to its work.

OFFICE FORCE

During the period covered by this report the following have composed the permanent staff of the office:

Secretary, R. D. W. Connor.

Legislative Reference Librarian, W. S. Wilson, December 1-18, 1918;

H. M. London, since August 1, 1919.

Collector for the Hall of History, Fred A. Olds.

Collector of World War Records, Robert B. House, since June 19, 1919.

Restorer of Manuscripts, Mrs. J. M. Winfree.

Stenographer, Miss Marjory Terrell.

Stenographer, Miss Sophie Busbee.

File Clerk, Mrs. William S. West.

Messenger, William Birdsall.

The following were employed temporarily for special services:

Acting Legislative Reference Librarian, Robert H. Sykes, January 8-April 1, 1919.

Assistant Legislative Reference Librarian, William T. Joyner, January 8-March 11, 1919; August 1-31, 1920.

Stenographer, Mrs. W. S. Wilson, December 1-18, 1918.

Stenographer, Miss Alice Moffitt, since September 7, 1920.

File Clerk, Mrs. F. M. Stronach, December 1, 1918-March 6, 1919.

DIVISION OF DOCUMENTS

EXECUTIVE PAPERS

The papers of the following governors, transferred from the Governor's office, were properly arranged and filed:

Elias Carr, 1893-1897.
Daniel L. Russell, 1897-1901.
Charles B. Aycock, 1901-1905.
Robert B. Glenn, 1905-1909.
William W. Kitchin, 1909-1913.

They number 14,356 pieces.

HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS

The following collections of historical manuscripts were arranged and made ready for use:

William A. Graham Papers, 1776-1875.
A. L. Brooks Collection, 1758-1875.
Rice Letters, 1811-1821.
Joseph Graham Papers, 1813-1836.
Lewis Letters, 1835-1863.

COUNTY RECORDS

As a rule marriage bonds received from the counties are without systematic arrangement. Those received from the following counties were filed alphabetically by counties: Burke, Bute, Caswell, Chatham, Cumberland, Currituck, Duplin, Halifax, Haywood, Johnston, Perquimans, Person, Rockingham, Stokes, and Warren.

REPAIR OF MANUSCRIPTS

The work of repairing, reinforcing, and mounting manuscripts preparatory to permanent binding, has been continued along the lines discussed in previous reports and perfectly familiar to the members of the Commission.

Collections so treated during this period number 8,666 manuscripts, of which 6,208 were repaired, 2,939 were reinforced with crepe-line, and 3,205 were mounted ready for binding.

ALBEMARLE COUNTY RECORDS

Most of the manuscripts treated in the repair department were (1) papers of the County of Albemarle and (2) papers of Chowan precinct. They form, perhaps, the most valuable unpublished collection of Colonial documents in the State. Stored away in the courthouse of Chowan County, they received, until very recent years, but little care and attention from the local officials. They were open to everybody who cared to look at them, without supervision, and have been badly damaged from improper handling. Many important papers originally in the collec-

tion have been lost or stolen. It was not until Mr. Frank Wood became chairman of the Chowan County Board of Commissioners that steps were taken to remedy this condition. It was through his efforts that the papers were finally sent to the North Carolina Historical Commission to be put in good shape, the Commission agreeing to do the work without expense to the County. After the Commission has completed its work on them, the papers are to be substantially bound and returned to the courthouse at Edenton.

Under all the circumstances it seems exceedingly regrettable that these original records, running so far back into our history, should not remain in the fireproof rooms provided by the State for such valuable documents. I trust that the Commission will urge the County Commissioners of Chowan County to consider two points before they finally decide on the disposition of these papers. The first is that a large part of those records are more than the record of Chowan County—they are the records of the far larger county of Albemarle, and, as Albemarle was the parent settlement of North Carolina, they are the records of North Carolina. Hence, they are interesting not merely to the citizens of Chowan County, but to every man and woman who is engaged in a study of North Carolina and, in order to be available to a large number of students of history, ought to be in the custody of the State.

It is impossible for Chowan, or any other county, properly to care for and administer these historical records. In the first place, the courthouse is not a fireproof structure. Nor has it the space and equipment necessary for the proper care and administration of such records. Available space in the courthouse, as well as the time and attention of county officials, must necessarily be devoted to the records in current use. Such officials have not the time, and but rarely the inclination, to administer records of an historical value merely, or to exercise proper supervision over their use by others. It is a constant complaint of people engaged in historical research in North Carolina that county officials will not answer their letters inquiring as to the existence of such records, or requesting certified copies from them. No single county is peculiar in this respect; the situation prevails in every county in the State, and it was in recognition of this fact, and a desire to provide a proper remedy for it, that the Legislature wrote into the Act of 1907, under which the Historical Commission is at present organized, the following section:

SEC. 5. Any state, county, town or other public official in custody of public documents is hereby authorized and empowered in his discretion to turn over to said Commission for preservation any official books, records, documents, original papers, newspaper files, printed books or portraits, not in current use in his office, and said Commission shall provide for their perma-

ment preservation; and when so surrendered, copies therefrom shall be made and certified under the seal of the Commission upon application of any person, which certification shall have the same force and effect, as if made by the officer originally in charge of them, and the Commission shall charge for such copies the same fees as said officer is by law allowed to charge, to be collected in advance.

Forty-seven counties have taken advantage of this law to deposit with the Historical Commission their records not in current use, thus (1) relieving the congestion in their courthouses and making room for rapidly accumulating current records; (2) placing their historical records where they will be properly preserved and administered in a fire-proof structure; and (3) making them available for historical purposes. Incidentally, it may be observed that scarcely a day passes that some investigator does not call at the Commission's rooms to consult these county records.

It seems to me to be perfectly apparent that Chowan County will consult her own interests, as well as the interests of the State, by following the example of these forty-seven other counties in the disposition of her records of purely historical value, and I recommend that the Commission make a formal request to the county officials to take this course, setting forth the reasons upon which such request is based.

BINDING

During the period covered by this report 36 volumes of manuscripts, containing (approximately) 4,070 pieces, have been bound, as follows:

Tillie Bond Manuscripts, 1690-1828, 2 vols.
L. O'B. Branch Papers, 1861-1862, 1 vol.
Brevard Papers, 1769-1867, 2 vols.
John L. Cantwell Papers, 1855-1896, 1 vol.
Papers of the Convention of 1788, 1 vol.
Papers of the Convention of 1789, 1 vol.
Governors' Papers; State Series, Vols. I-XV, 1777-1787, embracing the papers of—

- (1) Gov. Richard Caswell, 1777-1780, 5 vols.
- (2) Gov. Abner Nash, 1780-1781, 1 vol.
- (3) Gov. Thomas Burke, 1781-1782, 3 vols.
- (4) Gov. Alexander Martin, 1782-1785, 1 vol.
- (5) Gov. Richard Caswell, 1785-1787, 5 vols.

Thomas Henderson Letter-book, 1810-1811, 1 vol.
Proceedings of the Court-martial of Col. Charles McDowell, 1882, 1 vol.
Miscellaneous Papers: Series One, 1755-1912, 4 vols.
Onslow County Records: Wills, 1757-1783, 1 vol.

Onslow County Records: Wills and Inventories, 1774-1790, 1 vol.
 Proceedings of the Wilmington-New Hanover Committee of Safety,
 1774-1776, 1 vol.
 Shaw Papers, 1764-1861, 1 vol.
 Z. B. Vance Papers, Vols. XVI-XVIII, 1857-1902, 3 vols.

The following eight volumes of manuscript records were rebound:

North Carolina Revolutionary Army Accounts: Receipt Book.
 Accounts of the United States with North Carolina, War of the Revolution, Book A.
 Accounts of the United States with North Carolina, War of the Revolution, Book C.
 Statement of Army Accounts No. 19, War of the Revolution.
 Abstract of Army Accounts: North Carolina Line, War of the Revolution; Book of Settlements, No. 28.
 Accounts of the Comptroller's Office, War of the Revolution, 1777-1783.
 Minutes of the Commissioners of the Town of Tarborough, 1760-1793.
 Book of Registers, Collector's Office, Port of Roanoke, 1725-1758.

INDEX TO REVOLUTIONARY ARMY ACCOUNTS

Work has been continued on the card index to the Revolutionary Army Accounts as described in previous reports. Since my last report indexes have been made to the names in eight volumes, which complete the cards for 20 volumes. These manuscript records contain the accounts submitted by the State to the United States for settlement of our Revolutionary accounts after the Federal Government had assumed the debts contracted by the States in the War for Independence. They are valuable as a source for study of our Revolutionary history and are indispensable to the genealogist. The task of making a card index to the tens of thousands of names found in them has not been an easy one. It has been slow, tedious and expensive, but will be justified by opening up to the investigator what has hitherto been almost a closed mine of historical material. The work is now nearing completion.

ACCESSIONS

ADDITIONS TO FORMER COLLECTIONS

To collections already begun of the papers of George E. Badger, William Gaston, L. O'B. Branch, John Branch, D. H. Hill, William R. Davie, John Steele, and Zebulon B. Vance a few additions, from one to half a dozen pieces each, have been made.

The most important additions to such collections are as follows:

WALTER CLARK PAPERS.—To this collection of his personal papers, Chief Justice Clark has added 2,770 pieces. This is now one of the

largest and most interesting collections of personal papers in our possession, numbering all told 3,969 pieces.

WILLIAM A. GRAHAM PAPERS.—To this collection of his father's papers, Major W. A. Graham has added 471 pieces, dating from 1776-1875, and containing, besides numerous letters written by Governor Graham himself, letters written to him by William Gaston, Edward Stanly, Daniel Webster, George E. Badger, Henry Clay, David L. Swain, Willie P. Mangum, John M. Morehead, William T. Sherman, and Z. B. Vance.

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.—From various sources the Commission received 40 miscellaneous manuscripts, among which are letters of Gen. Rufus Barringer, Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, Jefferson Davis, Gen. R. F. Hoke, Gov. A. M. Scales, Gov. John M. Morehead, Gov. Abner Nash, Matt W. Ransom, R. M. Saunders, W. T. Dortch, Hinton Rowan Helper, and Col. John Tipton.

NEW COLLECTIONS

WORLD WAR RECORDS.—The largest and most important of our new collections are those grouped under this head. More than 100,000 pieces, consisting of both official and personal records of North Carolina's part in the World War, have been received. For further details of this collection reference should be made to Mr. House's report submitted below.

A. L. BROOKS COLLECTION.—From Hon. A. L. Brooks the Commission received a collection of interesting autographs. Among them are autograph letters of Governors Richard Caswell, Thomas Burke, Alexander Martin, William Hawkins, H. C. Burton, David Stone, John Owen, Edward B. Dudley, David L. Swain, John W. Ellis, Henry T. Clark, Jonathan Worth and Curtis H. Brogden. The collection contains 24 pieces.

JOSEPH GRAHAM PAPERS.—Major W. A. Graham presented to the Commission a collection of 90 manuscripts of his grandfather, Gen. Joseph Graham, a distinguished soldier of the Revolution and one of the early industrial leaders in North Carolina. The collection dates from 1813 to 1836.

HILLSBORO ACADEMY.—From Hon. Frank Nash the Commission received a small manuscript volume of 10 pages, entitled: "Accompts. for Hillsborough Academy," 1784.

LEWIS LETTERS.—Miss Annie Lewis, of Raleigh, presented a collection of 18 letters of the Lewis family, dating from 1835 to 1863, interesting because of the glimpses they give us into the social life of the period.

MOORE-WADDELL PAPERS.—This is a collection of 43 pieces relating to the Moore and Waddell families, presented by Mr. O. C. Erwin of Morganton.

REGULATOR RECORDS.—In 1886 Mr. Julius Brown, of Georgia, purchased from W. E. Benjamin, of New York, two manuscript volumes containing official records of Governor Tryon's expedition against the Regulators in 1771. These volumes, according to our information, were formerly in possession of Sir Henry Clinton and were bought by Mr. Benjamin at a sale of Sir Henry's papers. Upon the death of Mr. Julius Brown they passed into the possession of his brother, Hon. Joseph E. Brown, formerly governor of Georgia, who thought that, being important documents in the history of North Carolina, they properly belonged in this State. Accordingly, in February, 1919, Governor Brown brought the documents in person to Raleigh and formally presented them to the State through the Historical Commission. They are:

(1).—Orders given by/ His Excellency Governor Tryon/ to the Provincials of North Carolina/ raised to march against/ Insurgents. [Written on the inside cover]: Book Aide du Camp. [The last two pages contain]: Report of the Provincial Army Whilst Encamped at Husbands, Sandy Creek, 22 May, 1771. Quarto, bound in parchment. 108 pages.

(2).—Journal of the Expedition agst the Insurgents/ in the Western Frontiers of North Carolina beginning the 20th April, 1771. [Contains]: A PLAN of the CAMP and BATTLE of/ ALAMANCE, the 16th May 1771, Between the Provincials of North Carolina, Commanded/ By His Excellency Governor TRYON, and/ Rebels who style themselves Regulators. Surveyed and drawn by C. J. Southier. Quarto, 50 pages.

RICE LETTERS.—This is a collection of 15 letters of Rev. John H. Rice and Rev. Benjamin H. Rice, eminent Presbyterian ministers, all written to Rev. William McPheeters, from 1811 to 1821, relating to the affairs of the Presbyterian Church in North Carolina and Virginia. They were presented to the Commission by Hon. Benjamin Rice Lacy.

STRINGFIELD PAPERS.—This collection consists of three documents relating to Thomas' Legion of Cherokee Indians in the Confederate Army, written by Major W. W. Stringfield. They are:

(1) Diary for 1864 of W. W. Stringfield, major of the 69th Regiment (Thomas' Legion), Jackson's Brigade, Ransom's Division, Longstreet's Corps, C. S. A.;

(2) Major Stringfield's manuscript, "History of Thomas's Legion.,";

(3) "Historical Sketch of the 69th North Carolina Infantry," by W. W. Stringfield, Lieutenant-Colonel, from January 1 to August 25, 1864.

GEORGE W. SWEPSON PAPERS.—This is one of the most valuable of our new collections. It embraces 438 pieces, dating from 1866 to 1870, and contains many letters from most of the leaders of Reconstruction in North Carolina. Among them are A. W. Tourgee, W. W. Holden, Joseph C. Abbott, and Martin S. Littlefield. There are also letters from Jonathan Worth, Patrick H. Winston, Z. B. Vance, Thomas L. Clingman, Matt W. Ransom, A. S. Merrimon, and R. F. Hoke. The collection was presented by Mr. A. L. Baker of Raleigh.

TARBORO TOWN RECORDS.—From Bishop Joseph B. Cheshire the Commission received a manuscript volume of the original "Minutes of the Commissioners of the Town of Tarborough, 1760-1793."

WAKE COUNTY LADIES' MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION.—The Wake County Ladies' Memorial Association, the oldest Confederate memorial organization in the State, with a continuous existence since 1866, deposited with the Commission the following records:

- (1) Blue print of the Confederate Cemetery at Washington.
- (2) Roster of Confederate soldiers buried in the Confederate Cemetery at Raleigh.
- (3) Minutes of the Wake County Ladies' Memorial Association, 1866-1882.
- (4) Volume in manuscript entitled: Ladies' Memorial Association; Lists of Original Interments; the Arlington Dead.
- (5) List of members of the Wake County Ladies' Memorial Association.

CONFEDERATE MUSTER ROLLS.—Muster roll of Co. B, 1st Regiment, North Carolina Junior Reserves, R. H. Andrews, lieutenant in command, 1865. Two copies presented by Mr. W. J. Andrews of Raleigh.

WORLD WAR RECORDS

As soon as the United States entered the World War, historical agencies throughout the country recognized the necessity of inaugurating at once systematic efforts to preserve the immense volumes of material which war conditions would produce of value for the history of the war. The immensity of the task was appalling, and most of the historical commissions, societies, and other organizations were not equipped with sufficient means to accomplish it adequately.

Among such insufficiently equipped agencies was the North Carolina Historical Commission, which had neither the funds nor the staff to perform the task for the State of North Carolina, as it ought to be done. To enable it to meet the problem as effectively as possible, the Commission sought the coöperation of the State Council of Defense, at the head

of which, fortunately, was a member of the Historical Commission. The Council met us sympathetically and appointed an Historical Committee of the State Council of Defense with the Secretary of the Historical Commission as chairman. Thus the strength of these two organizations was combined for the task. Not much could be accomplished, however, in the collection of material, but important results were effected in calling attention to the importance of preserving it and foundations were laid for the more permanent work that was to come. This more permanent work has been made possible by the law passed by the General Assembly of 1919, upon the recommendation of the Historical Commission, and empowering the Commission to appoint a collector of World War records, giving official sanction to the work, and providing money for its support. The chief provisions of the law are as follows:

"SEC. 3. That for the purpose of putting into permanent and accessible form the history of the contribution of North Carolina and of her soldiers, sailors, airmen, and civilians to the Great World War while the records of those contributions are available, the North Carolina Historical Commission is hereby authorized and directed to employ a person trained in the study of history and in modern historical methods of investigation and writing, whose duty it shall be, under the direction of said Historical Commission, to collect as fully as possible data bearing upon the activities of North Carolina and her people in the said World War, and from these to prepare and publish as speedily as possible an accurate and trustworthy illustrated History of North Carolina in the Great World War.

"SEC. 4. The said history shall give a reliable account of the:

- (a) Operations of the United States Government in North Carolina during the war;
- (b) Operations of the North Carolina State Government in war times;
- (c) Operations of county and local government in war times;
- (d) War work of volunteer organizations;
- (e) Military, naval, and air service of North Carolina units and of individual North Carolina soldiers, sailors, and airmen;
- (f) Organization and services of the Home Defense;
- (g) A roster of North Carolina soldiers, sailors, and airmen in the war;
- (h) Services of North Carolinians in national affairs during the war;
- (i) Effects of the war on agriculture, manufacturing, transportation, finance, trade and commerce in North Carolina;
- (j) Social and welfare work among the soldiers and their dependents;
- (k) Contributions of schools and churches to the war and the effect of war on education and religion.
- (l) Such other phases of the war as may be necessary to set forth the contributions of the State and her people to this momentous event in the world's history.

"SEC. 5. That after the preparation of such history the said Historical Commission shall have the same published and paid for as other State printing, and said Historical Commission shall offer such history for sale at as near the cost of publication as possible: *Provided*, that one copy of such history shall be furnished free to each public school library in North Carolina

which shall apply for the same: *Provided also*, that said Historical Commission may exchange copies of said history for copies of other similar histories of the war; and *Provided further*, that all receipts from the sale of said history shall be covered into the State Treasury."

Acting under authority of this law, the Historical Commission chose Mr. Robert B. House Collector of World War Records, and Mr. House entered upon his work June 19, 1919. In the discharge of his duties he has shown such a clear grasp of the problems involved that he has been able to organize the work on a permanent and effective basis, and he has pursued it with an aggressive and yet tactful efficiency which has produced rather remarkable results. His report submitted below reveals that he has procured a collection of war records, official and personal, numbering more than 100,000 pieces and covering almost every phase of the subject which concerns North Carolina.

Although we must expect war records to come in more slowly from now on, yet we must recognize that the field has not yet been covered nor the sources of supply anything like exhausted, and Mr. House should be given the requisite stenographic and clerical help that will enable him to push his work as vigorously as its importance deserves.

His report, which follows, merits your careful consideration.

REPORT OF THE COLLECTOR OF WORLD WAR RECORDS

Raleigh, N. C., December 1, 1920.

MR. R. D. W. CONNOR, *Secretary*.

SIR:—I take pleasure in submitting my report of activities as collector of World War Records for the North Carolina Historical Commission from June 19, 1919, through November 30, 1920.

I was employed under the general provisions of chapter 144, Public Laws of 1919, which enjoined upon me the collection of data concerning North Carolina in the World War and the preparation therefrom of a reliable, illustrated history. My first efforts, of course, have been directed to collecting as fully as possible all available data.

On taking up my duties I found that the Historical Committee of the State Council of Defense, through a system of volunteer collecting in various counties of the State, and Col. F. A. Olds, Collector of the Hall of History, had already brought together a considerable amount of material. My work, therefore, has been largely to systematize and to expand the work as I found it already in progress.

The obvious duties of my office required me to collect from the national archives, the State departments of North Carolina, the county organizations, and individual citizens, innumerable classifications of data. My means for doing this consisted of myself and the part-time

assistance of one stenographer. Therefore, completion of this task within a short time was a physical impossibility. This fact was recognized by the Historical Commission when I began work, and my plan of action, with their approval, was to do as fully as possible what I could with the means at my disposal. The following analysis of my operations will indicate the trend that the work has taken during the past two years and the results accomplished.

OFFICE ADMINISTRATION

So great was the popular interest of North Carolinians in the war as a subject of information and study, that immediately upon its becoming known that a Department of War Records was in operation, I began to receive letters requesting information, offering help, etc., so that at once a voluminous correspondence was instituted, which together with my routine letters began to total up a large amount of office administration.

Letter-writing and copying manuscripts, together with filing documents received, arranging them in rough, systematic order and cataloguing them, likewise roughly, began to take up a large part of my time, threatening to eclipse the other activities I had instituted. In this connection I have been constantly handicapped by lack of sufficient stenographic help. However, this side of my work has been satisfactory within its limitations.

SURVEY OF RECORD-PRODUCING AGENCIES

One of my first tasks was to survey all possible sources of information concerning North Carolina in the World War to be found in the national archives, in the State departments, and among the various county organizations and individuals of North Carolina. In surveying national sources of information, I found that various other states of the Union were engaged in a similar task. Consequently, in September, 1919, representatives from the several states met in Washington to organize what became the National Association of State War History Organizations. This was a coöperative enterprise financed by a membership fee of \$200, paid by each member state organization. The North Carolina Historical Commission became a member of this association. As a result we have in hand a complete survey of materials that will be necessary to our purpose from the national archives, and have a considerable number of digests of this material.

In the State departments I found that the correspondence and published documents of the years 1917-1920 would be essential, but these documents being still of administrative value in the respective offices could not be released for some time to come. I, therefore, impressed

upon each office the necessity of preserving its records for these years entirely, until such time as they could be released for our archives. In this way I was able to insure the eventual accession of all records in the State departments. These records have begun to come to us in such manner as I have indicated in my catalogue of accessions.

The records produced by county organizations and individuals in North Carolina were found to be in a chaotic condition. In many cases officials of various war-work organizations had destroyed their records immediately upon the signing of the armistice, under the impression that these records were of no further value. In many cases, moreover, they had kept no complete records during the course of the war. I, therefore, took steps to advise these organizations of the value of their reports to any adequate history of the war. Moreover, while in a majority of the counties of the State volunteer collectors had agreed to bring together material for the Historical Committee and the Council of Defense, they had in reality done little systematic work. By letters and personal visits, however, I prevailed on most of these volunteer collectors to continue their connection with the Historical Commission, and I also effected organizations of volunteer collectors to a considerable extent in counties hitherto having no collectors. In addition, I secured in sixty-two counties of the State representatives of the colored race to take care of data pertaining to negroes in the war. Following up this effort to organize volunteer collectors, I held in Raleigh, February 4, 1920, a conference of volunteer war records collectors in order to emphasize what documents ought to be preserved and methods of preserving them. This conference has produced definite results, which will appear in my catalogue below. I might note here, however, that the most notable results in county collection of war records have been achieved in Orange, Guilford, Mecklenburg, Cumberland, Halifax, Hyde, Wilkes, and Warren counties, where the collectors in each case have checked over practically all available sources of information and have either secured complete records of each war organization and individual in the county or have determined that such records do not exist in particular cases.

PUBLICITY

In the early part of my work I prepared three bulletins outlining fully the nature of war records, why they should be preserved, and how the people of the State could help preserve them. These I have distributed widely and from them have also received beneficial results. In addition, I have kept the press of the State supplied with newspaper articles concerning my activities, points of interest about the war, and the progress of the collection of war records. The results from these efforts have also been concrete and beneficial.

PREPARATION OF WAR ROSTER

I also prepared a roster of all individuals who held official positions in any war-work organization in North Carolina. With this roster as a guide, I began a systematic correspondence with those individuals in an effort to secure such records as were in their possession. This effort was attended with varying success, but it produced concrete results that will be shown by my catalogue. I am still pursuing this canvass of individuals.

FIELD WORK

It was obviously necessary that I go out into the State to acquaint myself with individuals possessing war records and to secure such things as were available, and in the course of my work I have made a number of visits to counties, to the meetings of the National Association of State War History Organizations, to the several reunions of the Old Hickory and the Wild Cat divisions and to community celebrations, in an effort to push the collection of war records. I found, in general, that while such traveling always produced concrete results, it was better to await the occurrence of such events as Armistice Day celebrations, official meetings, etc., than to go at random on a general canvass of the State, since so much time, energy and money were required in other departments essential to my work.

RESEARCH

Numerous individuals and organizations in the State were already studying the progress of the war in North Carolina and in many cases preparing historical sketches of certain branches of war history. These individuals have invariably come to me for information in their particular line of work. I have endeavored to answer all inquiries as promptly as possible so that the Collector of War Records exists in the minds of the people of the State as a bureau of information about the war in general.

It is impossible to outline in detail the actual results accomplished in furthering the preservation of North Carolina's war records by the efforts described above. Organizations have been effected in various localities of the State which are still in operation and the final results of whose efforts it is impossible to determine as yet. The fact that North Carolina has a splendid war record that should be preserved in a definite body of documentary material is growing more and more clearly in the consciousness of the people. In a word, it has paid to advertise this work to the State, so that each day now I find it easier to obtain war records, because of the growing idea of the importance of the work in the State at large.

However, the final test of the work is a survey of such documents as have been secured, and, therefore, I give in the following paragraphs a digest of war records received, an estimate of the number of pieces in each particular collection, and some indication of its value to the war history of North Carolina.

ACCESSIONS

American Legion

Program of American Legion convention in Raleigh; List of members in Cumberland County; Notice of meeting at Enfield, 1919-1920.

Citations

War Department Orders, containing citations of North Carolina men.

Miscellaneous material concerning the following: Robert L. Blackwell, Earl M. Thompson, Major W. A. Graham, Andrew Scroggs Nelson, Capt. I. R. Williams, James H. Baugham, Lieut. W. O. Smith, Lieut. James A. Higgs, Coit L. Josey, Capt. John R. Jones, Major Paul C. Paschal, Lieut. Robert B. Taylor, James McConnell, Joseph H. Laughlin, Emory L. Butler, Henry H. Hall, Lieut. J. H. Johnston, J. Graham Ramsey, S. J. Erwin, Jr., Lieut. Robert B. Anderson.

Specimen of the diploma given by the French Government to all soldiers of the World War who lost their lives.

About 500 pieces, 1917-1920.

County Collections

The following individual county collections, totaling in all about 5,000 pieces, 1917-1920:

Wilson County—J. Dempsey Bullock, Collector.
Surry County—Miss Isabel Graves, Collector.
Davidson County—J. R. McCrary, Collector.
Hoke County—John A. Currie, Collector.
Cumberland County—Mrs. John Huske Anderson, Collector.
Gates County—A. P. Godwin, Collector.
Halifax County—Mrs. E. L. Whitehead, Collector.
Lenoir County—H. Galt Braxton, Collector.
Guilford County—W. C. Jackson, Collector.
Hyde County—Mrs. L. D. Swindell, Collector.
Wilkes County—F. H. Hendren, Collector.
Warren County—W. Brodie Jones, Collector.
Pasquotank County—Miss Catherine Albertson, Collector.

County Councils of Defense

New Hanover County: Correspondence; historical sketch; clippings from the *Morning Star*. 5,000 pieces, 1917-1919.

Avery County: Historical sketch; correspondence. 500 pieces, 1917-1919.

Wilson County: Three volumes of clippings, photographs, etc.

Material from the following counties: Alamance, Guilford, Warren, Rockingham, Lenoir, Nash, Anson, Lincoln, Person, Polk, Chowan. 1917-1920.

Economic Data

3,000 pieces, 1917-1920, collected from various sources.

Education

About 3,000 pieces, 1917-1920, miscellaneous data, collected by the Collector of War Records.

Histories of North Carolina Units

Histories of North Carolina units have been secured as follows:

118th Infantry, 105th Engineers, 120th Infantry, 147th Field Artillery, Fifth Division, 316th Field Artillery, 321st Infantry, 55th Field Artillery Brigade, 306th Engineers, 113th Field Artillery.

Miscellaneous data on 113th Field Artillery, 81st, 30th, 3d, 26th, and 42d divisions; papers, pictures and notes of Old Hickory Reunion, 1919; congratulatory orders and papers concerning the 30th Division; operations map of 30th Division; record of service of 147th Field Artillery in France; letter and report on 9th Battalion, 156th Depot Brigade, letter relating to history of 115th Machine Gun Battalion; roster of 113th Field Artillery; names of men from North Carolina now with First Division; newspaper, program and other souvenirs of Wildcat Reunion, 1920; address of Col. Harry R. Lee to 81st Division; newspaper, souvenirs and other material concerning Old Hickory Reunion, 1920. 1917-1919.

Individual Records—Army

Data consisting of letters, biographies, sketches, newspaper clippings, pamphlets, covering roughly, 1860-1920, have been secured, concerning the following North Carolina soldiers:

Brigadier-General Campbell King, Major Frank E. Emery, Jr.; Lieut. Robert C. Brantley, Capt. John R. Jones, Lieut.-Col. Hugh H. Broadhurst, Paul Ayers Rockwell, Edgar W. Halyburton, Col. Marion S. Battle, Col. Clarence P. Sherrill, Luther Clarence McKinley Enlow, Col. Gordon Johnston, Lawrence B. Loughran, Charles McKee Newcomb, Robert Timberlake Newcombe, Col. Paul C. Hutton, Robert C. Williamston, C. D. House, Everett Edward Briggs, Geoffrey Franklin Stanback, West Vick, Brigadier-General Henry W. Butner, Col. John W. Gulick, Major A. B. Deans, Jr., Walter E. Ray, Jesse Staton, Peter Spruill, Francis Marion French, J. E. Gregory, William S. Williams, Charlie M. Jones, Robert N. Beckwith, Col. John Van B. Metts, Lieut. Frederick Fagg Malloy, John B. Watson, R. B. House, Thomas Leete, Jimson Robinson, Lacy Edgar Barkley, James Redding Rives, Jr., Hubert Mahaney Whitaker, G. S. Boyd, David Smith, Major-General George W. Read, Brig.-Gen. Charles J. Bailey, Charles L. Coggin, Col. Holmes B. Springs, Brig.-Gen. E. M. Lewis, Sergt. John A. L. Moore, I. G. Wilson, Corp. C. C. Noble, Col. C. N. Barth; soldiers from Fayetteville, Spring Hope, Surry County, Wake County, Halifax County. Number of pieces estimated at 5,000.

Individual Records—Navy

Data consisting of letters, biographs, sketches, newspaper clippings, pamphlets, covering roughly 1860-1920, concerning the following North Carolina sailors:

Rear Admiral Victor Blue, Lieut.-Commander John F. Green, Lieut.-Commander Walter Doyle Sharpe, Commander Rufus Zenas Johnstone, Lieut.-Commander W. C. Owen, Lieut.-Commander J. R. Norfleet, Lieut.-Commander Paul Hendren, D. C. Godwin, James Edward Stephenson, Capt. Lyman A. Cotten, William Hansell Bushall, Listen Newkirk, Capt. R. W. McNeely, Reuben O. Jones, Commander John J. London, Lieut.-Commander William T. T. Mallison. 2,000 pieces.

Individual Records—Air Service

Robert O. Lindsay Papers: About 50 pieces, 1917-1920, concerning the services of Lieut. Robert O. Lindsay, the only Ace from North Carolina.

Kiffin Yates Rockwell Papers: About 3,000 pieces—letters, clippings, etc., covering roughly the dates 1892-1920, concerning Kiffin Yates Rockwell, an aviator with the French Escadrille, who gave his life in action in 1916. Donated by his mother, Dr. Loula Ayres Rockwell, and his brother, Paul Ayres Rockwell.

James A. Higgs Papers: About 1,000 pieces, covering roughly the dates 1890-1920. Story of his war experience, diary, personal correspondence, official correspondence, miscellaneous personal papers, official balloon notes, official photographs, balloon notes, etc. Lent by his sister, Miss Mattie Higgs.

Miscellaneous data about Lieuts. William Palmer, Harmon Rorison, John C. Miller.

About 10,000 pieces.

Jewish War Records

About 100 pieces, 1917-1920. Compiled by the Jewish War Record office, New York City.

Liberty Loan Campaign

Papers of Mrs. R. M. Latham, State Chairman Woman's Liberty Loan Committee: about 5,000 pieces of correspondence, covering dates of 1917-1920.

Miscellaneous papers covering same dates: about 100 pieces.

Local Exemption Boards

Local Board reports, about 2,000 pieces, containing the lists of drafted men from each county, obtained by Col. F. A. Olds.

Miscellaneous material as follows: Photographs; list of inducted men and letters of the Hyde County Board; Account of the Carteret County Board; Information concerning the draft in Hyde, Caldwell, Stokes, Chowan, Graham and Franklin counties; History of the Draft Board for Beaufort and Halifax counties.

About 2,000 pieces, 1917-1920.

Letters Pertaining to the War

Letters from the files of Col. F. A. Olds, covering roughly the dates 1917-1920. 50 pieces.

Miscellaneous letters from the following:

Marcelle Brunet to Mrs. Woolcott; Henriette, Duchess of Vendome, Princess of Belgium, to Tryon Chapter A. R. C.; Kiffin Rockwell to Mrs. John Jay Chapman; Ambassador Jusserand to Hon. S. P. McConnell; J. Graham Ramsey, James Menzies; Clara I. Cox; Mrs. K. R. Beckwith; L. S. M. Robinson, DeWitt Smith; Mrs. Eliza Potter Settle; Parents of Madelon Battle; Shirley N. White; John Y. Stokes; Lieut. Harry L. Brockmann; Mr. Charles C. Benson; and correspondence of General S. L. Faison and the War Department.

Letter-book of Governor T. W. Bickett, about 1,000 pieces of essential correspondence relating to Governor Bickett's administration.

Executive Papers of Governor T. W. Bickett pertaining to the war, about 10,000 pieces, 1917-1920. Filed chronologically under headings, as for example the following: Draft, Desertions, Food Administration, Fuel Administration, Rehabilitation, etc.

Miscellaneous Data

In addition to collections of materials which have been outlined in this report, there has been brought together about 5,000 individual items bearing on North Carolina in the World War. These are as yet entirely unread and unarranged, and therefore cannot be described in detail.

Munitions and Shipbuilding

Records of Andrew B. Baggerly, Navy Yard, 1917-1920.

Negroes in the War

About 20 pieces, 1917-1920, from W. H. Quick, and J. Dempsey Bullock, collectors.

Photographs

About 250 photographs collected by Col. Fred A. Olds and noted in his report.

Additional photographs as follows: Entertainment given by Raleigh Y. M. C. A.; Panorama of Camp Lee, Va.; Collection lent by *News and Observer*; Lieut.-Commander John F. Green; Col. Albert L. Cox; Wake Forest students at Plattsburg in 1918; Lieut. J. J. Sykes; Brig.-Gen. S. T. Ansell; Col. Joseph Hyde Pratt; Capt. Thomas Polk Thompson; John H. Howell; Lieut. William T. Gregory; Lieut. Samuel F. Telfair; Rufus Zenas Johnston; 90 prints of official photographs illustrating the 30th Division; Panorama of 119th Infantry at Camp Sevier; Brig.-Gen. Campbell King; Col. Marion S. Battle; Lieut.-Col. Hugh H. Broadhurst; Foreign Legion; Edgar M. Halyburton; Otis B. Baggerly; Col. Clarence P. Sherrill; Camp Bragg and Fayetteville; Lieut.-Col. W. G. Murchison; Col. S. W. Minor; 9th Battalion, 156th Depot Brigade; Major P. C. Paschal; Shirley N. White; Admiral Archibald Henderson Seales; Lieut.-Commander D. C. Godwin; Otis V. Baggerly; Capt. Lyman A. Cotten; James Edward Stephenson; Peter Spruill; Collection taken by Capt. Bagley, 321st Infantry; Capt. R. W. McNeely; Tablet erected to Lieut. Robert H.

to get and hold a footing there, which at later time could be obtained only by a process of severe competition.

Whether we do or do not utilize the opportunity before us depends primarily on our business men; but not entirely. It depends to a notable extent on the attitude of the people of the country. Unquestionably there are a few people in the United States who would deliberately and knowingly block our progress in this respect. But there are many who could block it by not knowing what the situation is and how their own views of what the government ought to do in the situation bear upon it. It is our good fortune to live under a government of the people. Well, at this moment the people of this country are called upon to decide whether or not they shall block or promote the development of the United States in keeping with the industrial and political opportunities that confront us in international affairs. With the best intentions in the world our people cannot be expected to act prudently in the matter unless they understand the opportunities that confront us.

Before 1914 the United States was a debtor nation. For years we had borrowed money to build railroads, canals and industrial plants, and to develop mining and agriculture. For the interest on our borrowings we had to pay Europe annually more than \$250,000,000. Whatever else we did this money had to be paid. We fulfilled the description involved in the biblical phrase, "The borrower is a servant of the lender." We had chosen, also, to put our best efforts into manufacturing, as some sections of our farmers put all their efforts in production of one crop, expecting to buy what they needed in other respects. Thus we had given up the operation of a merchant marine and were paying Europeans \$200,000,000 a year to carry our goods to market. This interest charge and this freight bill, with the amount of money our tourists took abroad with them and some other items, made a grand total of nearly \$600,000,000 a year.

The sum was so great that it was impossible to pay it in gold, the only international money. To have tried to do so would have exhausted the stock of gold in the country in a few years, which means that our banks would have been forced to suspend specie payments of their notes. It was about nine times as much as the amount of gold mined in this country annually. The other alternative was to pay it in commodities; and that is what we did. Every year we sent abroad \$600,000,000 worth of products in excess of the value of the merchandise we imported. If we did not quite make the total out-go and the total in-come balance we called the difference the balance of trade. If the prices of our commodities were low the result was that they did not sell for enough to pay all we owed for merchandise

Official papers of the State Council of Defense, covering roughly dates 1917-1920, about 10,000 pieces; from Dr. D. H. Hill, Chairman.

Miscellaneous papers as follows: Incomplete set of minutes; some specimens of propaganda; Soldiers' Business Aid Committee papers; Certificates issued to R. J. Morgan, Chairman Haywood County Council of Defense; First Annual Report; Correspondence and press material. About 2,000 pieces. 1917-1920.

U. S. Food Administration

Complete record of the U. S. Food Administration in North Carolina, 10,000 pieces, 1917-1920, turned over by Col. F. A. Olds from Henry A. Page, Food Administrator.

Miscellaneous material, 500 pieces, 1917-1920.

U. S. Fuel Administration

Complete records of Fuel Administrator A. W. McAlister and R. N. Norfleet, 10,000 pieces, 1917-1920.

Miscellaneous material, 500 pieces, 1917-1920.

War Camp Community Service

Reports of War Camp Community Service in Southport, Winston-Salem, Wilmington, Morehead City, Raleigh, Elizabeth City, Fayetteville, Goldsboro, Durham, Greensboro, Charlotte, Asheville, Hot Springs, Waynesville.

History of War Camp Community Service in Southport and in Fayetteville. Poster, picture, several papers, and story of War Camp Community Service in Charlotte.

About 500 pieces, 1917-1920.

War Savings Stamps

Miscellaneous material, from Colonel Olds. About 500 pieces, 1917-1920.

Welfare Work

About 500 pieces, 1917-1920, miscellaneous printed matter.

War Work Fund

Records concerning the War Work Fund, 1917-1920.

Women in the War

Miscellaneous data, about 2,000 pieces, 1917-1920, consisting of individual reports from various women's organizations in North Carolina.

Y. M. C. A.

Material from Colonel Olds. Material concerning the Y. M. C. A. in the Army of Occupation. About 1,000 pieces, 1917-1920.

Analysis of the foregoing catalogue shows, first, that some of our collections are already practically complete as, for example, records of the Food and Fuel Administrations, the State Council of Defense, and

the Governor's office. These collections I purpose to arrange at once, systematically, so as to render them available for consultation. Also I purpose to study them with a view to publication.

In the second place, some of our collections can be made complete within a reasonable length of time, as, for example, the service records of our soldiers, sailors and airmen, the histories of war work organizations, and histories of counties, military units, etc. These I purpose to complete systematically as soon as possible, after which I shall arrange them for consultation and study also.

In the third place, some of our collections will never be completed. These may be described as colorful, human-interest documents, such as letters, pictures, diaries, etc. But they are essentially of value to the historian even though incomplete, because of their typical, representative nature. These I purpose to add to by every opportunity possible.

Therefore, for the immediate future, my plans are to continue working along my present lines of collecting and arranging documents in general. But results already achieved indicate that before the coming year is over the emphasis will shift to systematic arrangement, study and publication.

Respectfully yours,

R. B. HOUSE,

Collector of World War Records.

COUNTY RECORDS

Seventeen counties deposited with the Commission, during the period covered by this report, their noncurrent records, as follows:

Burke County. (Erected in 1777 from Rowan.)

County Court Papers (unbound), 1783-1842.

Wills (unbound), 1794-1866.

Marriage Bonds (unbound), 1794-1866.

Bute County. (Erected in 1764 from Granville.)*

Land entries and oaths, 1778. 1 vol.

County Court Minutes, 1767-1776. 1 vol.

Wills and Inventories.

Marriage Bonds.

Caswell County. (Erected in 1777 from Orange.)

Marriage Bonds.

Chatham County. (Erected in 1770 from Orange.)

County Court Minutes, 1811-1816. 1 vol.

Columbus County. (Erected in 1808 from Bladen and Brunswick.)

County Court Minutes, 1838-1846. 1 vol.

*Abolished in 1778, and territory divided into Warren and Franklin.

- Cumberland County. (Erected in 1754 from Bladen.)
 County Court Minutes, 1784-1860. 26 vols.
 County Court Road Docket, 1825-1855. 2 vols.
 Fayetteville papers, 1820-1871 (unbound).
 Marriage Bonds.
- Currituck County. (Erected in 1672 from Albemarle.)
 County Court Minutes, 1799-1830. 3 vols.
 Marriage Bonds.
- Duplin County. (Erected in 1749 from New Hanover.)
 County Court Minutes, 1784-1837. 6 vols.
 Marriage Bonds.
- Granville County. (Erected in 1746 from Edgecombe.)
 County Court Minutes, 1786-1820. 9 vols.
- Halifax County. (Erected in 1758 from Edgecombe.)
 Marriage Bonds.
- Haywood County. (Erected in 1808 from Buncombe.)
 Marriage Bonds.
- Johnston County. (Erected in 1746 from Craven.)
 Marriage Bonds.
- Perquimans County. (Erected in 1672 from Albemarle.)
 Inventories and Sales, 1715-1815.
 Wills, 1711-1803.
 Marriage Bonds.
- Person County. (Erected 1791 from Caswell.)
 Marriage Bonds.
- Rockingham County. (Erected in 1785 from Guilford.)
 County Court Minutes, 1786-1803. 3 vols.
 Marriage Bonds.
- Stokes County. (Erected in 1798 from Surry.)
 Marriage Bonds.
- Warren County. (Erected in 1778 from Bute.)
 County Court Minutes, 1783-1855. 8 vols.
 County Court Trial Docket, 1787-1805. 1 vol.
 Minutes of Courts Martial (militia), 1791-1815. 1 vol.
 Marriage Bonds.
- Wake County. (Erected in 1779 from Dobbs and Craven.)
 County Court Minutes, 1787-1788. 1 vol.
 Wills and Inventories, 1782-1808. 1 vol.

MAPS

The following maps have been received:

Map/ of the/ United States/, Exhibiting the/ Post-Roads, Situations, connexions, & distances of the Post Offices/ State Roads, counties, & Principal Rivers/ By Abraham Bradley Junr. 38x52. 1804. Insert: Map/ of North Carolina.—Presented by Miss Maude Waddell.

Photostat copies of Collett's map of North Carolina, 1768-1770, and of Jeffrey's map of St. Christopher and Nevis, from the originals in the British Museum.—Presented by Prof. Charles M. Andrews of New Haven, Conn.

NEWSPAPERS

In the early part of the present year a systematic effort was begun to secure either original or photostat copies of all North Carolina newspapers prior to 1800 which could be located. The accomplishment of this undertaking has been made possible by the publication in the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society of Mr. Clarence S. Brigham's "Bibliography of American Newspapers." An arrangement with the Massachusetts Historical Society has made it possible for us to procure positives of such prints at the cost of negatives. We send the negatives to them from which they furnish us the positives without charge, on condition that the negatives remain with them, they being permitted to furnish from them prints to any other historical society, commission, or library that may desire them. This agreement enables us to procure positives of our early newspapers at almost half the price they would otherwise cost us.

To the courtesy of the American Antiquarian Society, the British Public Records Office, the Library Company of Philadelphia, the Library of Congress, the New York Historical Society, and the Louisiana State Museum, we are indebted for permission to have such prints made of early North Carolina newspapers as follows:

From the American Antiquarian Society:

- Edenton Intelligencer. April 9, 1788.
- State Gazette of North Carolina. Forty-six issues of various dates from March 30, 1792, to February 20, 1799.
- North Carolina Chronicle; or Fayetteville Gazette. Six issues in 1790.
- Fayetteville Gazette. Ten issues in 1792.
- North Carolina Minerva, and Fayetteville Advertiser. Issues of November 17, 1798, and November 26, 1799.
- North Carolina Gazette (New Bern). Two issues, October 18th, 1759; June 24, 1768.
- Wilmington Sentinel, and General Advertiser, June 18, 1788.
- Wilmington Chronicler, and North Carolina Weekly Advertiser. October 22, 1795.
- Martin's North Carolina Gazette (New Bern). August 15, 1787.
- North Carolina Gazette (New Bern). Three issues in 1790 and 1794.

From the British Public Records Office:

- North Carolina Gazette (New Bern). Four issues from 1757 to 1775.
- North Carolina Gazette (Wilmington). Three issues in 1765 and 1776.
- Cape Fear Mercury. One issue in 1773 and three issues in 1775.

From the Library Company of Philadelphia:

- State Gazette of North Carolina, October 4, 1787.
- North Carolina Gazette (New Bern). Twenty issues from October 12, 1793, to July 16, 1796.

From the New York Historical Society:

North Carolina Gazette (New Bern). Seven issues in 1775.

State Gazette of North Carolina, February 7, 1788.

From the Library of Congress:

Post-Angel, or Universal Entertainment (Edenton). November 12, 1800.
Newbern Gazette. Seven issues of various dates from November 24, 1798, to March 16, 1799.

State Gazette of North Carolina, October 4, 1787.

North Carolina Minerva, December 23, 1800.

North Carolina Journal. Complete from January 4 to December 12, 1796, except for the issues of January 11, February 29, May 9, June 13, and July 26; of October 17, and December 12, we have only the second and third pages.

From the Louisiana State Museum:

Martin's North Carolina Gazette. Issues of July 11 and December 19, 1787.

By purchase we procured the originals of the

North Carolina Journal. Six issues of various date in 1794-1795.

As a gift from Mrs. Henry A. London, we received

The Chatham Record, 1878-1920. 42 vols.

HISTORY OF THE KING'S BODYGUARD OF THE YEOMEN OF THE GUARD

In connection with the commemoration of the Tercentenary of Sir Walter Raleigh, Col. Sir Reginald Hennell, colonel in command of the King's Bodyguard of the Yeomen of the Guard, the oldest military organization in the world, presented to the State of North Carolina through the Historical Commission, the last copy in his possession of his history of the Guard which was written by him at the command of the King. This copy Colonel Hennell had handsomely bound in the colors of the Guard, and inscribed to the State of North Carolina in commemoration of the fact that Sir Walter Raleigh, whose colonies settled on the shores of North Carolina, was formerly a captain in the Guard.

PUBLICATIONS

Since my last report the Commission has issued the following publications:

Bulletin No. 24. Seventh biennial report of the North Carolina Historical Commission, December 1, 1916-November 30, 1918. Paper. 17 pages.

Bulletin No. 25. Proceedings of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina for 1918; Addresses prepared for the Conference on Anglo-American Relations in commemoration of the Tercentenary of Sir Walter Raleigh, October 28-29, 1918. Paper. 146 pages.

Bulletin No. 26. Proceedings of the Nineteenth Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina, November 20-21, 1919. Paper. 137 pages.

North Carolina Manual for 1919. Compiled and edited by R. D. W. Connor. Cloth. 459 pages.

Papers of Thomas Ruffin. Compiled and edited by J. G. de R. Hamilton. Vol. II. Cloth. 625 pages.

Volumes III and IV of the Ruffin Papers are now in the press and their publication may be expected at an early date.

MORAVIAN RECORDS

One of the largest and most important unpublished collections of manuscript material bearing on the history of North Carolina are the records of the Moravians in Wachovia, preserved in the Wachovia Historical Society at Winston-Salem. These records are continuous from the beginning of the Wachovia settlement in 1752 to date. From 1752 to 1857 they were kept in German, but since 1857 the English language has been used. They are in the form of church minutes, journals, diaries, and "Memorabilia" prepared by the pastors and read annually to the several congregations, and relate not merely to the affairs of the Moravians but to events of general interest throughout the colony and the continent.

The Commission has been fortunate enough to make arrangements with Miss Adelaide L. Fries, archivist of the Wachovia Historical Society, to translate and edit these records for publication by the Commission. Miss Fries' thorough knowledge of the history of Wachovia and her familiarity with these records make her especially competent for this difficult task; indeed, she is probably the only person living who is competent to do it. The first volume of the series, "The Records of the North Carolina Moravians, 1752-1771," is ready for the press and will be sent to the printers as soon as other volumes now in their hands are out of the way.

HISTORICAL MARKERS

The General Assembly of 1919 reenacted the Act of 1917 which appropriated \$2,500 annually to be used by the Historical Commission to aid in commemorating by suitable markers events of interest in our history. No change was made in the conditions under which the fund can be used, which were explained in my last report. Conditions have not been favorable during the period covered by this report for raising money for such historical memorials and but little aid has been requested from this

fund, but we can, I feel sure, look for a revival of such activities in the near future. During this period we have aided in erecting the following markers:

1. Henry Irwin Tablet.

This is a tablet erected in the courthouse at Tarboro in memory of Henry Irwin, colonel of the 2d Regiment, North Carolina Continental Line. Erected by the Miles Harvey Chapter, D. A. R.

2. Confederate Navy Yard.

A tablet marking the site of the Confederate Navy Yard on the Cape Fear River near Wilmington. Erected by the New Hanover County Historical Commission.

3. Sugar Loaf Battlefield.

This is a tablet marking the site of Sugar Loaf battlefield, about fourteen miles below Wilmington on the Cape Fear River, where was fought in 1725 the last battle between the whites and the Indians on the Cape Fear. Erected by the New Hanover County Historical Commission.

4. Site of Fort Anderson.

A tablet to mark the location of Fort Anderson on the Cape Fear River opposite Fort Fisher, which, with Fort Fisher, formed the defense of the city of Wilmington during the Civil War. Erected by the New Hanover County Historical Commission.

5. Site of Charlestown.

This tablet marks the site of Charlestown on the Cape Fear, founded in 1665 by Sir John Yeamans, and afterwards abandoned. Erected by the New Hanover County Historical Commission.

6. Historical Sites in Wilmington.

A series of tablets marking the sites of events of historic interest in the city of Wilmington. Erected by the New Hanover County Historical Commission.

7. Ramsgate Road Tablet.

A tablet to mark the location of the old Ramsgate Road in Wake County, built in 1771 by Governor Tryon, when on his expedition against the Regulators. Erected by the Bloomsbury Chapter, D. R.

8. Ramseur Tablet.

A tablet erected to mark the location of the Belle Grove House near Winchester, Va., where died, October 20, 1864, Major-General Stephen Dodson Ramseur, of a wound received at the battle of Cedar Creek, October 19, 1864. Erected in conjunction with the North Carolina Division, U. D. C., and the North Carolina Division, U. C. V.

9. Pettigrew Tablet.

A tablet erected to mark the location of the Boyd House near Winchester, Va., where died, July 17, 1863, Brigadier-General James Johnston Pettigrew, of wounds received at the battle of Falling Waters, July 14, 1863. Erected in conjunction with the North Carolina Division, U. D. C. and U. C. V.

The Ramseur and Pettigrew memorials are bronze tablets affixed to handsome granite columns, the columns being gifts to the Commission of the late Col. Peter H. Mayo of Richmond, Va. They were unveiled on September 16 and 17, 1920. In the exercises in connection with the unveiling of these memorials we received such cordial coöperation and hospitality from the Confederate veterans, Daughters of the Confederacy, and other citizens of Winchester and vicinity, as made the occasion a notable one.

HALL OF HISTORY

I submit herewith the report of the Collector for the Hall of History, and desire to call your attention especially to the fine collection of World War relics and photographs which have been secured during the period covered by this report. Another particularly interesting feature of the report is the statement that during the past two years, 202 classes of school children, representing schools in thirty-two counties, have visited the Hall of History and heard lectures on the history of North Carolina as illustrated by the collections there exhibited.

REPORT OF THE COLLECTOR FOR THE HALL OF HISTORY

Raleigh, N. C., December 1, 1920.

To MR. R. D. W. CONNOR, *Secretary*:

I beg leave to submit herewith my report as Collector for the Hall of History for the biennium, December 1, 1918-November 30, 1920:

During the period covered by this report, December 1, 1918-November 30, 1920, the collections in the Hall of History have been greatly enriched and enlarged. Many of the counties in the State have been visited in the search not only for relics but for documents, letters, record-books and any other material, which could be obtained.

From many counties much original material was secured, including marriage-bonds, county court minutes, wills, inventories of estates and other documents. So many courthouses have been burned and such extreme carelessness shown in other cases that the loss of documents has been immense and irreparable. The stories of the various counties, covering existing records now in them and those brought here from them, have been prepared and are on file for instant reference.

When Mr. R. B. House took up his duties as collector of material relating to the World War there were turned over to him many thousands of documents and great numbers of photographs. The documents included the records of the draft in North Carolina; records of the food and fuel administrations; reports on war industries in the State, which had been made by me as the unpaid representative of the War De-

partment and the United States Shipping Board; posters issued by the United States and the State during the war; and many other reports, orders, maps, etc. This collection was begun as soon as the World War began, as some North Carolinians entered it as early as September, 1914, and was continued to the end of the war.

The additions to the collections in the Hall of History are set out below, in what may be termed historical periods, for the sake of convenience.

COLONIAL PERIOD

An engraved portrait of Martin Howard, last Chief Justice under the Crown, presented by Mr. Alexander B. Andrews, of Raleigh; portrait and letter of Bishop Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg; portrait of Col. William Polk; 97 steel engravings of notable English men and women; tablecloth brought here by the Mendenhall family in 1682; commission of Joseph Montfort as Grand Master of Masons for America, signed by the Duke of Beaufort, Grand Master of England, this being deposited by the Grand Lodge of North Carolina; engraving of Sir Walter Raleigh, as Captain of the Archers of the King's Body Guard of the Yeomen of the Guard, 1592, presented by Col. Sir Reginald Hennell, the present commanding officer of the Guard.

REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

Watch worn by Capt. John McDowell at the battle of Cowpens; picture of a North Carolina soldier, by Howard Pyle; bullets and glassware from the battlefield of Ramseur's Mill; clock of Zebulon Baird, the grandfather of Gov. Z. B. Vance, presented by the teachers' association of Transylvania County; map of New Bern; many Indian relics; medal struck in honor of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham; and watch worn by Sarah Marcy, lent by Mrs. Jonathan Worth Jackson, in memory of Mr. Jonathan Worth Jackson.

FEDERAL PERIOD

Chair of the old House of Commons, saved when the first State capitol at Raleigh was burned in 1831; bronze medal given by Congress to Cyrus Field for the first Atlantic cable; medal given by the people of the United States to Henry Clay.

CIVIL WAR PERIOD

Sword and sash of Capt. Francis Nash Waddell; flags of the 11th Regiment, North Carolina State Troops, presented by Capt. Edward R. Outlaw of Elizabeth City and the children of Col. W. F. Martin; flag of

the 16th Regiment, North Carolina State Troops, presented by Emanuel Rudasill of Sherman, Texas; sword and spurs of Col. Francis M. Parker of the 30th Regiment, North Carolina State Troops; shell from the battlefield of South West Creek, near Kinston; photograph of Gen. Junius Daniel; bust in marble of Governor John W. Ellis, transferred from the Executive Mansion; photographs of Gen. William MacRae and Capt. James Iredell Metts of Wilmington, presented by Cape Fear Chapter, U. D. C., Wilmington.

OIL PORTRAITS

Gen. William Ruffin Cox, C. S. A., painted by Martha M. Andrews, presented by Mrs. Kate Cabell Cox, of Richmond, Va.; Dr. Stephen B. Weeks, painted by Paul Emil Menzel, presented by Willie P. Mangum, Weeks, Washington, D. C.

PERIOD SINCE THE CIVIL WAR

Group portrait of William A. Graham and his seven sons; the original of the famous telegram sent by William R. Cox, Chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, to W. Foster French, Democratic Chairman of Robeson County, during the election of delegates to the Constitutional Convention of 1875, reading: "As you love your State hold Robeson," presented by Mr. D. D. French; photographs of all the members of the State Constitutional Convention of 1875; photograph of Dr. Bartholomew W. Durham, for whom Durham County was named; the Supreme Court on the hundredth anniversary of its establishment; photograph of Lieut. William E. Shipp, U. S. A., killed in the War with Spain; part of the Wright brothers' airplane, which made the first successful flight, at Kitty Hawk, Dare County, N. C., May 8, 1908, and the first telegram announcing that flight.

THE WORLD WAR

The flags of all the North Carolina regiments in the United States service, these being the 105th Engineers, 115th Field Artillery, 115th Machine Gun Battalion, 119th and 120th Infantry, all of the 30th or "Old Hickory" Division; 316th and 317th Field Artillery, 321st and 322d Infantry, all of the 81st or "Wild Cat" Division, with the battle ribbons and also silver bands for the staffs; the headquarters flag of Gen. Samuel L. Faison, commanding the 60th Brigade, 30th Division, presented to him by the North Carolina Chapter of the Sons of the American Revolution; flag of Base Hospital Unit No. 65, presented by the surgeons and nurses composing it.

Two cannon and an anti-aircraft gun from the German ship Crown Princess Louise, from the Navy Department; German anti-tank rifle and automatic fifty-shot pistol, presented by Col. S. W. Minor, 120th Infantry; German machine gun, captured and presented by the 113th Field Artillery; number of relics of service in France and Belgium, presented for the 113th Field Artillery by Col. Albert L. Cox, including the last shells fired by each of the six batteries of that regiment, the moment before the armistice began, November 11, 1918; testament struck by German shrapnel, which saved the life of private Curtis Benton of the 113th Field Artillery; imperial German telephone captured by that regiment, presented by Maj. A. L. Bulwinkle.

The collection of the photographs is large and varied. Sets were made of Red Cross work at Raleigh and the reception of the 113th Field Artillery here on its return from France. There are nine views of Raleigh from an airplane; many of the shipyards at Wilmington, New Bern and Morehead City; the hospital at Oteen and Kenilworth; the naval aviation station at Morehead City and of all the regiments from North Carolina above referred to in connection with their flags; together with pictures of officers and men of these and other commands.

The autograph photographs include those of President Wilson, Marshall Foch, Field Marshal Haig, who commanded the army of which the 30th Division was an important part; King Albert of Belgium, General Pershing, General McIver, General Lewis, General Faison, and General Campbell, all North Carolinians; Colonel Minor, Colonel Metts, Colonel Pratt, Colonel Wooten of the First U. S. Engineers, the first American force to enter England; Lady Madelon Battle Hancock, formerly of Asheville, who was at the Front in the British Red Cross Service in France and Belgium from August 10, 1914, until the armistice, who received twelve decorations from Great Britain, Belgium and France, and is widely known as "Glory" Hancock; Robert Lester Blackwell, 119th Infantry, the only North Carolinian ever awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor, America's highest military decoration; John E. Ray, 119th Infantry, who received the Victoria Cross.

There are many other relics from the battlefields of France and Belgium; twenty-five commemorative medals struck by France and lent by Col. Albert L. Cox; thirty-one military medals of the various counties, lent by Lt. E. F. Wilson; part of the airplane in which Kiffin Rockwell made his last flight, he being the first North Carolinian killed in the war.

There are the uniforms of Kiffin Rockwell with three French decorations, those of the Legion of Honor, Medaille Militaire and Croix de Guerre; of James McConnell and James H. Baugham, also of the Escadrille LaFayette, decorated with the Medal Militaire and the Croix de Guerre; John E. Ray, of the 119th Infantry, decorated with the Victoria

Cross and the Distinguished Service Cross; Robert R. Bridgers, of the British ambulance service, decorated with the honor medal of that service.

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SPECIAL VISITS, EXHIBITS AND LECTURES

During the period the battlefields of Guilford Courthouse, King's Mountain, Ramseur's Mill, Moore's Creek, Alamance and Bentonville were visited. At the battlefield of South West Creek, near Kinston, an address was made and appropriate relics exhibited. The Confederate reunion at Fayetteville was attended. Memorial Day addresses were made at Elizabeth City and Henderson.

Nearly 300 college and school addresses were made, in almost all the counties in the State.

During the period 202 schools or classes in schools visited the Hall of History, representing thirty-two counties.

A great deal of care has been given to the arrangement of relics chronologically in the Eastern Hall and when possible episodes in the State's history have been set out. These include the First Settlement on Roanoke Island; the Lords Proprietors; the Stamp Act episode at Wilmington, 1765; the Moravian Settlement; the Scotch settlements; the battle of the Alamance; the Revolutionary War from beginning to end; the naming of the counties, with portraits of persons for whom they were named; Colonial and Revolutionary notables; the North Carolina-born Presidents of the United States; the University and the earliest colleges; early transportation; the World War.

The collections in the Western Hall were already arranged chronologically. The addition of so much fresh material has made it possible to effect both of these arrangements, which prove of great value to teachers and students, who compose a large part of the visitors, and also to the general public as well. Many lectures were delivered and students took notes easily because of this arrangement by periods.

Acting in coöperation with the Sulgrave Institution, at its request, the special attention of the public was called to the exhibits of objects relating to the First Settlement in North Carolina territory, 1584-1587. This material includes in the Eastern Hall engravings of Sir Walter Raleigh and his wife, born Elizabeth Throgmorton; his autograph, his home, Hayes-Barton; the room in the Tower of London, in which he was so long a prisoner; John White's narrative of the 1586 settlement on Roanoke Island, with map and engravings, 1590; letter from Joshua Lamb, whose father, of Boston, Mass., bought Roanoke Island, April 17, 1676, from Sir William Berkley of Virginia; map of Roanoke Island, made by Surveyor-General William Maude, 1710. In the Western Hall are the portraits of Queen Elizabeth and Raleigh, engraving

of Raleigh as Captain of the Archers of the King's Body Guard, of the Yeomen of the Guard, 1592; Sir Walter and his half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert; the inscription on the slab upon his grave in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster Abbey; his knightly arms; another picture of his home in Devonshire, Hayes-Barton; harquebus or hand-gun of that period; ballast from the vessels of White's expedition; charcoal from the fire-pit in Fort Raleigh; oil paintings of Roanoke Island today, Jacques Busbee; engraving of King Edward VII, autographed by His Majesty and specially sent because of the first English settlement in what is now the territory of the United States, with letter from Viscount Bryce, setting out this fact.

Respectfully submitted,

FRED A. OLDS,

Collector for the Hall of History.

LEGISLATIVE REFERENCE LIBRARY

Below will be found the biennial report of the Legislative Reference Librarian. Considering the serious handicaps under which the library has been compelled to function during the past two years, the report shows a record creditable to it.

It should be borne in mind that the greater part of the library's work is of an intangible character which cannot be adequately described in such a report as this. For instance, merely to say that 424 of the bills introduced into the General Assembly of 1919, and 150 of those introduced at the Special Session of 1920 were prepared for members in the Legislative Reference Library, does not give an adequate idea of the amount of labor required in investigations preliminary to the preparation of the bills in the numerous conferences with the members for whom they were drawn, and in the many drafts which are frequently necessary before they are ready for introduction. The library has functioned effectively during the sessions, but its attention needs to be directed to a more systematic and thorough expansion and development of its activities between sessions. For this purpose the Librarian needs more stenographic and clerical assistance.

The report of the Librarian follows:

REPORT OF THE LEGISLATIVE REFERENCE LIBRARIAN

Raleigh, N. C., December 1, 1920.

MR. R. D. W. CONNOR, *Secretary*:

Following the death on December 18, 1918, of the Former Legislative Reference Librarian, Mr. W. S. Wilson, the services of Mr. R. H. Sykes, of Durham, were secured for the session of the General Assembly of 1919. Mr. Sykes was assisted by Mr. W. T. Joyner.

Assistance was thus furnished the members of the General Assembly in the preparation and drafting of bills, in a similar way to the services so efficiently rendered by the late Mr. Wilson to the General Assembly of 1917.

Upon assuming my duties as Legislative Reference Librarian on August 1, 1919, I at once entered actively into the work of ascertaining the needs of State and county officials as to information desired touching legislation in this and other states and in promptly supplying this information. In order to acquaint myself with present and prospective problems of legislation I attended meetings of the State Bar Association, State Social Welfare Workers, the District Library Association and other important gatherings in the State.

During November, 1920, after conferring with the Chairman and Secretary of the Commission, I went to Baltimore, Albany and Hartford and inspected the Legislative Reference Libraries at those places. I was shown every courtesy and had placed at my disposal all the facilities of those well-equipped reference libraries for making a study of the work done and the methods used. This trip was deferred until after the Special Session of the General Assembly in August, in order that I might be in better position to ascertain more clearly just what particular line of study and investigation it would be best to pursue.

PUBLICATIONS

Among the first of the activities of the Legislative Reference Library during the past year was the compilation and publication of a booklet of 63 pages entitled, "Directory of State and County Officials of North Carolina." It contained a complete list of North Carolina's congressmen, State officers, heads of the State departments, boards and commissions, judicial officers, district tax supervisors, members of the Legislature and of county officials with their postoffice addresses. For each county it gave the name and address of the clerk of the court, sheriff, treasurer, register of deeds, coroner, surveyor, superintendent of health, superintendent of schools, superintendent of public welfare, county tax supervisor, county and highway commissioners. So great was the demand for this booklet that the supply of the first edition was quickly exhausted, necessitating the publication of a second revised edition. Copies were mailed to State and county officials besides being furnished to a large number of other people upon request.

At the instance of the Southern Headquarters of the American Red Cross in Atlanta, during the spring and summer of 1920, I assembled and compiled material for the "Handbook of Information of the Social Resources of the State of North Carolina." This publication was edited

and published under the direction of the Social Service Department of the American Red Cross, all the expense having been borne by that organization. By coöperating with our various State institutions and agencies, the Legislative Reference Library acted as a clearing house, so to speak, for the several chapters in the book assigned to them. This handbook will furnish to social service workers comprehensive information as to the agencies that they may call upon to assist them in their work. The Red Cross in planning extension of its social work in North Carolina, felt that the handbook would be of invaluable aid. If a case should arise that requires a knowledge of the correctional institutions in the State, the location and all available information can be had by reference to the handbook. All child welfare laws, educational laws, and institutions, labor legislation, private and public institutions for the care of the feeble minded, health work, home demonstration, etc., are listed in the book with detailed information as to how to make the services of the institutions available. Copies of this handbook will be available on request to the Red Cross authorities.

In September, 1920, I prepared and published a digest of the election laws relative to the requirements of registration and voting as especially affecting new voters. This was mailed to every newspaper in the State and was also sent to various women's clubs and equal suffrage organizations, it being of especial interest and value to the prospective women voters.

Shortly after the election in November, 1920, I compiled and published a complete list of the members-elect of the Legislature of 1921, together with their postoffice addresses.

SPECIAL SESSION OF 1920

During the sixteen days' Special Session of the Legislature in August, 1920, about 150 bills were drafted in the Legislative Reference Library. In this work I was assisted by Maj. W. T. Joyner, who had rendered valuable assistance in a similar capacity to Mr. Sykes during the regular session of 1919. Information on a wide range of subjects was furnished both before and during the session to the legislators. Several weeks before the Special Session convened, I forwarded the following self-explanatory letter to each member:

You have doubtless in mind some legislation of a public or private nature which you think should be enacted at the approaching session.

If the Legislative Reference Library of the Historical Commission can be of any service to you in collecting information in this or other states on the subjects of proposed legislation, please advise us. It will be our pleasure to serve you in this or in any other matter. All that is asked is that sufficient time be given to collect the data required. For that reason, if you will

communicate with this office, making known your needs and desires, some time in advance of the session, the information will be assembled and furnished you in ample time.

The Legislative Reference Library desires at all times to serve the people of North Carolina and especially to offer its services to the members of the State Legislature. It is hoped that you will avail yourself of our assistance, both now and during the approaching session.

In response to the above letter a number of replies was received from which some idea was acquired of the character of legislation likely to be introduced and the information was secured accordingly. A similar letter has already been sent to the members-elect of the Senate and House of Representatives of the General Assembly of 1921.

It has been my constant effort to make the Legislative Reference Library a place where the legislator and man of public affairs can study easily, intelligently and fully the trend of legislation at home and abroad and learn something of the reasons for and against the several movements. The benefits of the Library are being recognized more and more and there are many regrets that it was not established many years ago. Every effort has been made to make the library useful and satisfactory and as its advantages are understood and appreciated it is confidently predicted that it will steadily grow in importance and usefulness to the citizens of the State.

Respectfully submitted,

HENRY M. LONDON,
Legislative Reference Librarian.

SUMMARY

The following summary, although clearly inadequate, may enable the members of the Commission to get a clearer idea of the scope of the Commission's work as covered by this report. The report shows that during the past two years—

1. Five official and five unofficial collections, containing 15,014 pieces, were arranged and filed for use;
2. 8,666 manuscripts were scientifically treated for permanent preservation;
3. 44 volumes of manuscripts were bound;
4. Index cards to the names in eight volumes of Revolutionary Army Accounts were made, and cards to 20 volumes, numbering upwards of 75,000, were arranged alphabetically;
5. 3,281 manuscripts were added to collections already begun; 11 new collections were secured;
6. The work of collecting the records of the World War was organized and more than 100,000 documents, covering 31 different subjects, were procured;
7. Noncurrent official records, in 60 bound volumes and thousands of unbound papers, were brought in from 17 counties;

8. Photostat copies of 169 issues of North Carolina newspapers of various dates from 1757 to 1800, were secured;

9. Five publications were issued;

10. Nine historical markers were erected;

11. To collections in the Hall of History were added 178 different exhibits, embracing hundreds of portraits, photographs, battle flags, medals, uniforms, and other relics illustrating every period of our history;

12. The Legislative Reference Library, in addition to its general activities, prepared 574 bills for members of the General Assembly, published one valuable bulletin, and collected data covering a wide range for an important publication on the social service resources of the State.

Although the above summary very inadequately covers the work of the Commission, most of which is incapable of being expressed statistically, it is not, I think, unimpressive.

Respectfully submitted,

R. D. W. CONNOR,
Secretary.

RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA, December 1, 1920.

NO MAN IS FIT TO BE ENTRUSTED WITH CONTROL OF THE PRESENT WHO IS IGNORANT OF THE PAST; AND NO PEOPLE WHO ARE INDIFFERENT TO THEIR PAST NEED HOPE TO MAKE THEIR FUTURE GREAT.

PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION
BULLETIN No. 20

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Twentieth and Twenty-First
Annual Sessions
OF THE
State Literary and Historical Association
of North Carolina

RALEIGH
DECEMBER 2-3, 1920
DECEMBER 1-2, 1921

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OF THE
Twentieth and Twenty-First
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OF THE
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Compiled by
R. B. HOUSE, Secretary

RALEIGH
EDWARDS & BROUGHTON PRINTING COMPANY
STATE PRINTERS
1922

The North Carolina Historical Commission

J. BRYAN GRIMES, *Chairman*, Raleigh

D. H. HILL, Raleigh

T. M. PITTMAN, Henderson

M. C. S. NOBLE, Chapel Hill

FRANK WOOD, Edenton

D. H. HILL, *Secretary*, Raleigh.

Officers of the State Literary and Historical Association

1919-1920

President J. G. DER. HAMILTON, Chapel Hill.
First Vice-President MRS. S. WESTRAY BATTLE, Asheville.
Second Vice-President T. T. HICKS, Henderson.
Third Vice-President MRS. M. K. MYERS, Washington.
Secretary-Treasurer R. D. W. CONNOR, Raleigh.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(With above named officers)

W. K. BOYD, Durham.	W. C. SMITH, Greensboro.
MRS. H. G. COOPER, Oxford.	F. B. McDOWELL, Charlotte.

MARSHALL DEL. HAYWOOD, Raleigh.

1920-1921

President D. H. HILL, Raleigh.
First Vice-President MRS. H. A. LONDON, Pittsboro.
Second Vice-President C. C. PEARSON, Wake Forest.
Third Vice-President MISS GERTRUDE WEIL, Goldsboro.
Secretary-Treasurer R. B. HOUSE, Raleigh.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(With above named officers)

W. W. PIERSON, Chapel Hill.	W. H. GLASSON, Durham.
A. B. ANDREWS, Raleigh.	JOSEPHUS DANIELS, Raleigh.
BURTON CRAIGE, Winston-Salem.	R. D. W. CONNOR, Chapel Hill.

OFFICERS FOR 1921-1922

President W. K. BOYD, Durham.
First Vice-President S. A. ASHE, Raleigh.
Second Vice-President MRS. D. H. BLAIR, Greensboro.
Third Vice-President JOHN JORDAN DOUGLAS, Wadesboro.
Secretary-Treasurer R. B. HOUSE, Raleigh.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

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J. G. DER. HAMILTON, Chapel Hill.	CLARENCE POE, Raleigh.
C. C. PEARSON, Wake Forest.	

PURPOSES OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

"The collection, preservation, production, and dissemination of State literature and history;

"The encouragement of public and school libraries;

"The establishment of an historical museum;

"The inculcation of a literary spirit among our people;

"The correction of printed misrepresentations concerning North Carolina; and,

"The engendering of an intelligent, healthy State pride in the rising generations."

ELIGIBILITY TO MEMBERSHIP—MEMBERSHIP DUES

All persons interested in its purposes are invited to become members of the Association. There are two classes of members: "Regular Members," paying one dollar a year, and "Sustaining Members," paying five dollars a year.

RECORD OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

(Organized October, 1900)

<i>Fiscal Years</i>	<i>Presidents</i>	<i>Secretaries</i>	<i>Paid-up Membership</i>
1900-1901	WALTER CLARK	ALEX. J. FEILD.....	150
1901-1902	HENRY G. CONNOR.....	ALEX. J. FEILD.....	139
1902-1903	W. L. POTEAT.....	GEORGE S. FRAPS.....	73
1903-1904	C. ALPHONSO SMITH.....	CLARENCE POE	127
1904-1905	ROBERT W. WINSTON.....	CLARENCE POE	109
1905-1906	CHARLES B. AYCOCK.....	CLARENCE POE	185
1906-1907	W. D. PRUDEN.....	CLARENCE POE	301
1907-1908	ROBERT BINGHAM.....	CLARENCE POE	273
1908-1909	JUNIUS DAVIS.....	CLARENCE POE	311
1909-1910	PLATT D. WALKER.....	CLARENCE POE	440
1910-1911	EDWARD K. GRAHAM.....	CLARENCE POE	425
1911-1912	R. D. W. CONNOR.....	CLARENCE POE	479
1912-1913	W. P. FEW.....	R. D. W. CONNOR.....	476
1913-1914	ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.....	R. D. W. CONNOR.....	435
1914-1915	CLARENCE POE.....	R. D. W. CONNOR.....	412
1915-1916	HOWARD E. RONDTHALER.....	R. D. W. CONNOR.....	501
1916-1917	H. A. LONDON.....	R. D. W. CONNOR.....	521
1917-1918	JAMES SPRUNT.....	R. D. W. CONNOR.....	453
1918-1919	JAMES SPRUNT.....	R. D. W. CONNOR.....	377
1919-1920	J. G. DER. HAMILTON.....	R. D. W. CONNOR.....	493
1920-1921	D. H. HILL.....	R. B. HOUSE.....	430
1921-1922	W. K. BOYD.....	R. B. HOUSE.....	

THE PATTERSON MEMORIAL CUP

THE CONDITIONS OF AWARD OFFICIALLY SET FORTH BY MRS. PATTERSON

To the President and Executive Committee of the Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina:

As a memorial to my father, and with a view to stimulating effort among the writers of North Carolina, and to awaken among the people of the State an interest in their own literature, I desire to present to your Society a loving cup upon the following stipulations, which I trust will meet with your approval, and will be found to be just and practicable:

1. The cup will be known as the "William Houston Patterson Memorial Cup."

2. It will be awarded at each annual meeting of your Association for ten successive years, beginning with October, 1905.

3. It will be given to that resident of the State who during the twelve months from September 1st of the previous year to September 1st of the year of the award has displayed, either in prose or poetry, without regard to its length, the greatest excellence and the highest literary skill and genius. The work must be published during the said twelve months, and no manuscript nor any unpublished writings will be considered.

4. The name of the successful competitor will be engraved upon the cup, with the date of award, and it will remain in his possession until October 1st of the following year, when it shall be returned to the Treasurer of the Association, to be by him held in trust until the new award of your annual meeting that month. It will become the permanent possession of the one winning it oftenest during the ten years, provided he shall have won it three times. Should no one, at the expiration of that period, have won it so often, the competition shall continue until that result is reached. The names of only those competitors who shall be living at the time of the final award shall be considered in the permanent disposition of the cup.

5. The Board of Award shall consist of the President of the Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina, who will act as chairman, and of the occupants of the Chairs of English Literature at the University of North Carolina, at Davidson College, at Wake Forest College, and at the State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts at Raleigh, and of the Chairs of History at the University of North Carolina and Trinity College.

6. If any of these gentlemen should decline or be unable to serve, their successors shall be appointed by the remaining members of the Board, and these appointees may act for the whole unexpired term or for a shorter time, as the Board may determine. Notice of the inability of any member to act must be given at the beginning of the year during which he declines to serve, so that there may be a full committee during the entire term of each year.

7. The publication of a member of the Board will be considered and passed upon in the same manner as that of any other writer.

MRS. J. LINDSAY PATTERSON.

SUPPLEMENTARY RESOLUTION

According to a resolution adopted at the 1908 session of the Literary and Historical Association, it is also provided that no author desiring to have his work considered in connection with the award of the cup shall communicate with any member of the committee, either personally or through a representative. Books or other publications to be considered, together with any communications regarding them, must be sent to the Secretary of the Association and by him presented to the chairman of the committee for consideration.

AWARDS OF THE PATTERSON MEMORIAL CUP

- 1905—JOHN CHARLES MCNEILL, for poems later reprinted in book form as "Songs, Merry and Sad."
- 1906—EDWIN MIMS, for "Life of Sidney Lanier."
- 1907—KEMP PLUMMER BATTLE, for "History of the University of North Carolina."
- 1908—SAMUEL A'COURT ASHE, for "History of North Carolina."
- 1909—CLARENCE POE, for "A Southerner in Europe."
- 1910—R. D. W. CONNOR, for "Cornelius Harnett: An Essay in North Carolina History."
- 1911—ARCHIBALD HENDERSON, for "George Bernard Shaw: His Life and Works."
- 1912—CLARENCE POE, for "Where Half the World is Waking Up."
- 1913—HORACE KEPHART, for "Our Southern Highlanders."
- 1914—J. G. DE R. HAMILTON, for "Reconstruction in North Carolina,"
- 1915—WILLIAM LOUIS POTEAT, for "The New Peace."
- 1916—No award.
- 1917—MRS. OLIVE TILFORD DARGAN, for "The Cycle's Rim."
- 1918—No Award.
- 1919—No Award.
- 1920—MISS WINIFRED KIRKLAND, for "The New Death."
- 1921—No Award.
-

WHAT THE ASSOCIATION HAS ACCOMPLISHED FOR THE STATE— SUCCESSFUL MOVEMENTS INAUGURATED BY IT

1. Rural libraries.
2. "North Carolina Day" in the schools.
3. The North Carolina Historical Commission.
4. Vance statue in Statuary Hall.
5. Fire-proof State Library Building and Hall of Records.
6. Civil War battle-fields marked to show North Carolina's record.
7. North Carolina's war record defended and war claims vindicated.
8. Patterson Memorial Cup.

Proceedings and Addresses of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina

Minutes of the Twentieth Annual Session Raleigh, December 2-3, 1920

THURSDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 2ND.

The twentieth annual session of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina was called to order in the auditorium of the Woman's Club, Raleigh, N. C., Thursday evening, December 2nd, 1920, at 8:00 o'clock, President J. G. deR. Hamilton in the chair. The session was opened with an invocation by Rev. W. W. Peele, Pastor of Edenton Street Methodist Church, Raleigh. Dr. Hamilton then read the president's annual address. His subject was "Vitality in State History". He was followed by Dr. John Spencer Bassett, Professor of History, Smith College, Northampton, Mass., whose subject was "What the World Wants of the United States".

At the conclusion of Dr. Bassett's paper an informal reception was held for the members of the State Literary and Historical Association, the North Carolina Folk Lore Society, and the North Carolina Library Association, in the club building.

FRIDAY MORNING, DECEMBER 3RD.

The session was called to order in the Hall of the State Senate by President Hamilton, at 11 o'clock. The President presented Dr. H. M. Wagstaff of the University of North Carolina, who read a paper on, "Davie and Federalism." Dr. Wagstaff was followed by Mr. Frank Nash, Assistant Attorney General of North Carolina, who read a paper entitled "An Eighteenth Century Circuit Rider". The president then presented Miss Mary B. Palmer, Secretary of the North Carolina Library Commission, who read "North Carolina Bibliography, 1919—1920".

At the conclusion of the exercises Dr. D. T. Smithwick of Louisville, presented the following resolution:

To the members of the State Literary and Historical Association:

I find no provision for the election of honorary members of our Association, and thinking there are a number of people who are eligible and

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have gained distinction, maybe native North Carolinians in other states, whose connection with us would be of great value, I feel it would be wise for us at this meeting to make some provisions for election of honorary and life members.

Therefore, make this motion, that the newly elected President and executive committee to be constituted a committee to make a report to our next meeting, with suitable provision for election of honorary members and the qualifications of such persons proposed for membership.

D. T. SMITHWICK, Louisburg, N. C.

The resolution was passed. The president then appointed a nominating committee with instructions to report their nominations of officers for the succeeding year at the evening meeting. This committee was as follows: Mr. Frank Nash, Dr. C. C. Pearson, and Dr. J. M. McConnell.

FRIDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 3RD.

President Hamilton called the meeting to order at 8:30 in the auditorium of Meredith College. He then introduced Dr. John Erskine, of Columbia University, who read an address entitled "Patriotism".

At the conclusion of Dr. Erskine's paper the nominating committee reported the following nominations, which were unanimously carried: President, D. H. Hill, Raleigh; First Vice-President, Mrs. H. A. London, Pittsboro; Second Vice-President, C. C. Pearson, Wake Forest; Third Vice President, Miss Gertrude Weil, Goldsboro; Secretary Treasurer, R. B. House, Raleigh.

The Association then adjourned *sine die*.

ADDRESSES

Vitality in State History *

BY J. G. DER. HAMILTON

President State Literary and Historical Association

Almost from the time that conscious historical study began there has been argument as to the nature, value, and content of history which has not yet resulted in any agreement universally accepted. It still means to many people one or another of a large number of things, many of which it is not. Doubtless there are many persons present who can recall a time when the name denoted nothing save a dreary catalogue of wars and battles, of dynasties and administrations, of isolated and perfectly insulated names and dates. To one who has never reached conceptions of history more advanced than this, my subject could have little or no meaning, for if that be the only content of history, truly there is no vitality in it.

Of great interest and intensity has been the discussion on the subject of the purpose and value of history. Opinions have ranged from that which has held it a purely cultural subject, full of scholarly detachment from the supposedly tainting touch of anything practical and useful, but replete from interest to many individuals properly educated up to it, all the way to the various views of a more utilitarian character. These are many. Probably the most widespread is that the value of history lies in its service as a guide of conduct in matters of statecraft. Other claims made for it have been that it is calculated to discipline the memory, stimulate the imagination, and develop the judgment; to give training in the use of books; to furnish entertainment; to set up for conscious imitation ideals of conduct and of social service; to inculcate practical knowledge that can be turned to account in the daily concerns of life; to illuminate other studies; to enrich the humanity of the student, enlarge his vision, incline him to charitable views of his neighbors, to give him a love of truth, to make him in general an intelligent well-disposed citizen of the world by making him a citizen of the ages.

Another, widely prevalent for a time in the recent past, is that history teaches patriotism and should be written and taught with that

* The author desires to express his sense of obligation for aid received in the preparation of this paper from the following works: James Harvey Robinson, "The New History;" Dewey, "Reconstruction in Philosophy;" Frederic Harrison, "The Meaning of History;" and Henry Johnson, "Teaching of History."

end almost solely in view. Let me turn aside briefly from my subject to remark that history made to order for the teaching of patriotism is likely to bear as little relation to truth as its resulting effects bear to essential patriotism. An outraged world has, in the greatest war of history, repudiated and punished the most striking example of this sort of history teaching and this sort of patriotism. It remains for patriotic Americans to see that we do not err in the same direction.

From the beginning of history writing to the point where a broad conception of values in history in relation to man's environment and daily life appeared was a slow development. In the beginning history was held to be literature, art, poetry, which preserved the record of certain dramatic events, chiefly the heroic actions of kings, warriors, and statesmen. It sought to paint a picture, "to consecrate a noble past," rather than to guide or furnish a key to the future. But in the eighteenth century a fresh point of view influenced historical study. The aim was no longer so much to paint a picture as it was to solve a problem—to explain the steps of national growth and prosperity or their reverse. Under the influence of this ideal every factor of national importance came to be regarded as valuable as a field for investigation and study, and thus was ushered in the day when history was generally held to be the story of people rather than of kings. The same period has seen likewise the steady increase of emphasis upon social factors other than political and religious, and the consequent rise of the group emphasized—in some cases overemphasized—the economic interpretation of the development of the human race. Here, too, received a mighty impulse that synthetic process of associating cause and effect which transformed history from mere annals into a connected whole.

None of these views of history are as a whole true or yet untrue. In every point of view there are clear values, but in no one of them is the whole truth found. Take for instance the cultural aspect of historical study. The usual view of this fits with the most selfish view of education ever held, and has in its extreme form little truth, for knowledge that does not connect with life and its problems, that does not tend to give sounder notions of human and social interests, is meaningless. Bolingbroke thus describes it:

"An application to any study that tends neither to make us better men and better citizens is at best but an ingenious sort of idleness . . . and the knowledge that we acquire by it is a creditable kind of ignorance, nothing more. This creditable kind of ignorance is, in my opinion, the whole benefit which the generality of men, even the most learned, reap from the study of history."

Still, viewed from another light, it is in individual culture, training, and education that history yields its richest values. Bolingbroke saw this, and continued:

"And yet, the study of history seems to me of all others the most proper to train us up to private and public virtues."

Nor, to go to the other extreme, does the utilitarian claim lack validity, except in so far as it claims too much. For in the last analysis, if history is to have values for the average man, and it is in relation to the average man or the mass of men that I discuss this subject, it must be practically useful and in a social sense it can be considered important only in so far as it meets that requirement.

If the values of history be estimated rightly there is really little or no conflict between the cultural and utilitarian views. But what is the value of historical study and knowledge? *Is* an acquaintance with the events, men, and ideas of the past of benefit to those in the world today? There is little difficulty in answering these questions. There is widespread agreement that the study of history does cultivate the mind, develop clear thinking, and give capacity to estimate the character of social movements and forces. It does fulfill almost every claim made for it. Knowledge of history lifts its possessor to a height from which, detached and aloof from the turmoil and uproar of his immediate environment, he can comprehend the nature of existent institutions and conditions, and can trace the forces which operate in the life and progress of nations and of the world for good and evil. As few other acquirements it tends to the development of wholesome tolerance. It enables him to play a constructive, positive part in the formation and maintenance of effective public opinion, that compelling social and political force. But a widespread belief that from the study of past events sufficient knowledge may be acquired to meet the new problems which arise is true only as far as this: experience in the analysis of past movements and conditions develops a capacity to analyze similarly the movements and conditions of the present. In the words of Lecky:

"The same method which furnishes a key to the past forms also an admirable discipline for the judgment of the present. He who has learnt to understand the true character and tendencies of many succeeding ages is not likely to go very far wrong in estimating his own."

In other words, the past does not furnish exact precedents for conduct in meeting similar situations, because similar situations rarely or never arise. History cannot accurately be said to repeat itself. But

historical study has value because through it we may gain such a knowledge of the past that our conduct may be based upon complete understanding of existing conditions.

As concrete examples of the value of historical study, take the cases of Jefferson and Madison. Both were profound students of history and both applied practically their knowledge in striking fashion and with such success that their names are held in honor and the world would have been a far poorer place had they been less informed on the subject. Yet the conditions which they faced had never had any parallel in history. Their use of history lay in the capacity which it gave them to analyze situations and conditions accurately and, while adapting themselves to their environment, at the same time shape it for the future. A not less significant example is that of a living American who has won the moral leadership of the world and a glorious immortality.

If there be here present any who doubt the value of historical knowledge, let them remember that out of history have come our daily life, our laws, our customs, our thought, our habits of mind, our beliefs, our moral sense, our ideas of right and wrong, our hopes and aspirations. Let them conceive, if it be humanly possible, of a world from which has been swept away every vestige of what may properly be called historical knowledge, from which was gone, not alone the knowledge of the great events, but all records and the very memory of the great movements and achievements of the past in literature, art, science, and industry; of all customs, traditions, laws, and institutions; of religion; of all human hopes and human beliefs. Can imagination create a picture of greater and more hopeless confusion and woe?

History, rightly employed, contains the alkahest of the present and of the future.

So much for the values of history. What of its content?

History has been defined as "All we know about everything man has ever done, or seen, or thought, or hoped, or felt." There are many definitions still more inclusive, as, "History is the sum total of human activity," or, "History in its broadest sense is everything that ever happened. It is the past itself, whatever that is." Accepting for the purposes of this discussion the first and narrower definition, it is clearly an impossibility for any man to acquire knowledge of all history, and the mass of men must be content with far less. What of all the things that man has done, seen, thought, hoped, or felt, have values for the average man? The dramatic? The unusual? The heroic? Or, on the other hand, the normal? The customary? The humdrum con-

ditions of life for the mass of men? What is the test—the acid test—which shall determine what is pure metal and what is mere dross?

As I see it, vitality is the final test to be applied, and by vitality I mean that character in event or movement which makes it a determining factor, for good or for evil, in the shaping of the conditions, present and future, of the generation in which one lives, which gives sounder notions of human and social interests, which relates man to the business of living. It is no narrow definition. It covers a multitude of meanings. It may consist, for example, in satisfying the natural human curiosity as to the deeper relationships of the things about us, the facts of our environment, and their connection with the past—"that power which to understand is strength, which to repudiate is weakness". Vital events, vital movements, vital conditions, are the only ones which are worthy of widespread study and assimilation so far as the generality of men are concerned.

Applying this test, it will be found that the dramatic, the unusual, and even the heroic events of the past have far less vital importance than is usually attributed to them, while the normal conditions of life lie at the heart of all the great movements which have shaped the past and through it the present. And so the man who uses history rightly values events not for their dramatic interest but for the light they cast on the normal conditions which lay back of them and caused them. And knowledge of these conditions is chiefly valuable for the grasp it gives of the ways in which society functions and of their influence upon the present. The aim is not the knowledge of the past; knowledge is a mere means towards the end of full living. The end of it all is that, through a more perfect understanding of our environment, we may develop sounder notions of human and social interests and the capacity to "coöperate with the vital principle of betterment," both in enriching our environment and adapting ourselves to its necessities, in order that we may grow. For, here as elsewhere, growth is the moral end. The value of the past lies not in itself but in our todays and tomorrows. Thus those things which touch directly the life of the world of today or of the future and which may bring or retard growth are vital to us.

John Richard Green saw this, and in his "Short History of the English People" said:

"If I have said little of the glories of Cressy, it is because I have dwelt much on the wrongs and misery which prompted the verse of Langland and the preaching of Ball. . . . I have set Shakespere among the heroes of the Elizabethan age and placed the scientific inquiries of the

Royal Society side by side with the victories of the New Model. If some of the conventional figures of military and political history occupy in my pages less than the space usually given them, it is because I have had to find a place for figures little heeded in common history . . . the figures of the missionary, the poet, the painter, the merchant, or the philosopher."

If these conclusions are true, as I earnestly believe they are, it is clearly apparent that there has been a vast waste of time and energy in the effort to instil historical knowledge into the minds of the mass of men. Anyone who is familiar with history as it is generally written and taught will bear me out in the statement that it has too often emphasized the unusual at the expense of the normal; that it has been long on events and short on movements; that it has, more often than not, lacked any clear distinction between the vital and the meaningless; that it has not given the student the type of training and knowledge which he can apply to the problems which he must confront. In short, we have been too often content to attempt to give information and have not sought to stimulate the development of real knowledge capable of practical application to life.

Nowhere have the misconceptions as to the place, function, and value of historical study been more apparent and more striking than in the field of the history of the States of the American Union, and this in spite of the fact that the span of years of the oldest of them has been so short that it is not beyond the power of anyone to acquaint himself with its whole course to the present. Nor are the sources of their history lost and their origins wrapped in doubt and mystery. In the case of every one of them it is the brief story of the development of a people, so simple to be mastered that it is almost true that he who runs may read. It is also a fact easily to be proved, I think, that widespread knowledge of state history among its citizens is not only practicable, but that its possibilities in the way of good results to the commonwealth are boundless.

Take the case of our own commonwealth, North Carolina. If the things which I have indicated constitute the vital in history, must we not revise our past attitude towards the history of the state as we have taught it and chiefly emphasized it? Let us ask ourselves frankly if we have not been inclined to emphasize in that history the things which are, if vital at all, of secondary importance in reaching correct judgments concerning the things which have made us what we are, or concerning the problems of the state today. As a result of the teaching of our history does the average North Carolinian have any background of knowledge and training by which he can analyze existing

situations in order to base opinion concerning them and conduct in relation to them upon a sure foundation? Have we not, in a too eager desire for primacy, too frequently selected for emphasis happenings which have had little or no real influence on the later life of our people, which play no part in our life today? Similarly, have we not ignored the conditions, movements, and tendencies which have vitality, which would serve to explain to us why we are what we are, an analysis of which might render us more capable of shaping our destiny for the better? Frankly, have we not sought to write and teach the things calculated to develop a sort of purposeless ancestor worship, to breed perfect contentment, a smug satisfaction with what we are and have been, rather than to emphasize the larger and more significant facts calculated to breed dissatisfaction, a divine discontent which might lead us faster along the paths of progress?

For the evidence is overwhelming that our past has not been all glorious, and that its inglorious features rather than their reverse have constituted a large part of the normal conditions which have shaped our present.

We are reminded at every sight of the state flag that we claim certain primacies in the struggle against the mother country in defense of the principle of no taxation without representation. It is a fact far more vital to our present that from 1776 to 1920—nearly a century and a half—we have lived under a self-imposed system of taxation which in iniquity has far surpassed anything that the Crown and Parliament of Great Britain in their most arbitrary and supposedly tyrannical mood ever dreamed of imposing on us.

Again, we emphasize the individualistic tendencies of our people as indicating a love of liberty, but we fail to show that it has manifested itself most notably in our inability to organize effectively for the common good, to develop any widespread civic consciousness and civic responsibility, to see in taxation a method of cooperative support of a cooperative undertaking for the general welfare. Rather we have viewed taxes as an imposition which it was right at any cost of morals to evade, and, as a result, have lived for most of our years, through the denial of opportunity to the majority of our citizens, in a state of servitude. Perhaps you ask, "Liberty loving North Carolina in *servitude*?" Yes, the servitude which is of all those of the ages the most grinding, depressing, and enduring, the servitude imposed by ignorance, which throughout our history has held us, as a commonwealth, tied and bound in its chains. It has not been confined

to the ignorant. Those it has crushed utterly, cutting them off from their God-given heritage of freedom, and denying to them and their children liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and in many cases life itself, all three of which we have solemnly declared in the Declaration of Independence to be inalienable rights of mankind. It has imposed upon the rest—the enlightened—as well, a heavy burden—that of carrying the dead weight of the whole, and of seeing all their ambitions for North Carolina's swift advancement die as the gravity of the load irresistibly held them back on the paths of progress until in many cases hope itself died.

In the same way, we have constantly reminded ourselves and the world that North Carolina was first at Bethel, farthest at Gettysburg and Chickamauga, and last at Appomattox. I yield to none in my deep pride and reverence for those men who so nobly and heroically carried the banners of a lost cause, but I submit in all seriousness that their achievements are not so vital in our history as are the facts that North Carolina has been at times first in mortality from typhoid fever and homicides, farthest for a long stretch of years in white adult male illiteracy, and at least close to last in recognizing the overwhelming importance of the great social purposes for which modern government may be said to exist.

We have all heard of late constant boasting of our fine economy in government. It is a far more vital fact that we have spent less for the larger social aims of government than any other state save one, for there lies the explanation of illiteracy, poverty, the steady loss of population that drained our life blood through a large part of our history, the failure to develop the almost fabulous natural resources of the state, the loss of opportunity to millions among whom were doubtless innumerable unhonored and unsung Murpheys, Vances, and Aycocks. We have needed desperately all of these millions, trained and equipped for constructive citizenship, but more desperately still have we felt the lack of missing leaders. Their loss is irreparable.

Finally, we have heard much within the last few years of the startling figures of our Federal taxes as illustrative of our prosperity. The figures are indeed startling when the vital fact is presented that the Federal taxes paid in the state during the last year amounted to more by twenty-five million dollars than the state has spent in its whole history for the compelling duty of educating its children; and the further fact that the amount paid in the last two years to the United States in taxes is greater than all that has been expended in North Carolina for both public and private education combined since Amadas and Barlowe first saw the green island of Roanoke.

These are characteristic instances—extreme ones, if you will—of the tendency I have indicated, of our failure to apply the test of validity. All of these and many, many more are vital factors in our history. For every one of them touches us closely today; all have had significant effects upon our environment, our opportunity, our character as a people, upon our whole life. The burden of them will rest upon our children do what we will.

Do not misunderstand me. The day will never come, and never ought to come, when we shall fail to recognize and be properly proud of the deeds and lives which are the spot lights of our history. But their brightness must not so dazzle us as to blind us to the existence of the skeleton in our closet. The dead past cannot in such a case bury its own dead; that is our task. Growth and progress demand that we face the fact of their existence, and seek for them burial and, it may be, through our reformation and expiation, final oblivion. But until we recognize their vitality even in death, history cannot through the training of our citizens pour out upon us its richest bounty.

To those of the past we owe, perchance, a debt which we can never pay; but no payment is demanded other than that of emulation of their virtues and of being warned by their faults; of remedying the wrongs they committed, of rectifying their errors, and of fulfilling the things that they omitted to do. *Our* great debt is to those who are yet to come, and it is in the light of history that we must pay that debt. In behalf of your children and mine, of the generation yet unborn, let us in North Carolina learn the vital things, and so far as in us lies, set about righting of the wrongs, the undoing of the mistakes, and the doing of all the things that have been left undone in the achievement of liberty and justice.

But the task of emphasizing the vital things is not one merely of the historical specialist or even of the teacher; it is rather the responsibility of all who love North Carolina. The objective of all our historical study of the state must be refixed and restated. In our schools, in our colleges, among our people generally, emphasis must be laid upon the vital, and the past thus linked with the present for the sake of the future.

The end of it all should be to show, not alone wherein North Carolina is first, but rather the reason for her lagging anywhere, that the means for improvement may be found; to give to her sons and daughters, not only information as to how great she is, but, more vital still, the knowledge of how through their efforts and their lives she may become far greater.

What the World Wants of the United States

BY JOHN SPENCER BASSETT, Ph.D., LL.D.

Professor of American History, Smith College

The elections of 1920 have come and gone. They always come and go once in four years in this country of ours, whether we need them or not. We have heard the results, and if we are good Americans we have accepted them, whether we wished them or not. This is our country, the country of all the people, and when the people have spoken in their elections the individual citizen accepts the result. If he is a good citizen he ceases to debate the execution of the decision of the voters. It is only when the election comes around that he can again bring the matter into question and debate the wisdom of the policy that has been followed, or that is proposed for future adoption. I make this plain statement in the beginning because I wish you to follow me into the discussion of the evening with minds clear of any party leanings.

Since the war with Spain, twenty-two years ago, the foreign relations of the United States have steadily enlarged. Much has been said recently about "entanglements with foreign nations." But for twenty-two years we have been steadily entangling ourselves with other nations, binding up our future in certain well defined policies which we cannot change at this time without seriously compromising our honor and interests. We have announced our support of an "open door" in the East in such terms that we should be deeply humiliated as a nation if we had to give it up at the demand of other nations. We have steadily tied ourselves up in the Caribbean Sea by assuming what are in fact the relations of protectorates over Cuba, Santo Domingo, Haiti, Nicaragua, and Panama. We have become responsible for the development of the Philippine Islands into a country capable of self government; and in doing so we have undertaken to protect them while under our own control; and if we are able to carry out our announced purpose of making them independent in due time, we shall have to continue that protection as against the designs of ambitious neighbors. In all these respects the United States have accepted obligations in keeping with the powers of a great nation. What has been done has alarmed nobody. It has come about gradually, and the states immediately concerned with us are not strong enough to be dangerous. But no one knows how soon the obligations we have taken may run counter

to the interests of a great power in such a way that our utmost strength would be necessary to sustain us if the worst came to worst in the course we have mapped out.

It is also noteworthy that in assuming protectorates over these states we have acted for our own interests only in an ideal sense. That is, there is no immediate necessity for establishing a protectorate over any of the states named, except Panama, where the protection of the canal is a matter of immediate policy. In regard to the other states we have acted because sagacity shows us that in the long run it is for our interests to have Cuba, Santo Domingo, and the Philippines exist in a state of enlightened prosperity, and for that reason we feel justified in lending our strength in promoting and guiding with a firm hand, if necessary, the development of these states. No one objects to this policy, so far as I know.

Our latest notable extension of our relations with the rest of the world was in entering the world war. We did not do it because we wished to, but because it was forced upon us by the bald necessity of the case. The origin of the struggle was not of our making. It grew out of a rivalry as old as the centuries. Its seeds were planted and replanted in the Congress of Vienna in 1815, the Treaty of San Stefano, the Congress of Berlin, 1878, and in the negotiations connected with the end of the Balkan war of 1912—1913. The desire for Constantinople, the jealousies of the Great Powers, the cultivation of national chauvinism, the false theory that Balance of Power can preserve peace: all these things were not things of our making, and they were fundamentally connected with the origin of the war. We came into it when it had become a life and death struggle for world empire on the part of Germany. If she won no state's life was safe; so we believed in 1917, and when she played her last card—ruthless submarine warfare—we were called to strike or eat words that only a coward could swallow. And so we fought and gave a decisive turn to the war. When we entered it with energy, in the summer of 1918, the two sides were near the point of exhaustion, but the advantage was with Germany. We changed the odds by throwing our fresh and unexhausted strength into the struggle; and the world was made secure from the Teutonic threat.

Then rose a situation no one had expected in a very definite manner. The tenseness of the struggle, the exhaustion it created in all the belligerent states, the misplacing of business and political interrelation, and the threatening rise of a proletarian regime all had to be dealt with. What was going to be the position of the United States

in this settlement? Many of us have asked the question and some have tried to answer it, some on one side and some on another. It has been two years and more since the silence of peace settled over No Man's Land, but to this day it is not determined what shall be the attitude of the United States to the problems that face the world in its hour of restoration. We have been so lost in the meshes of the great political debate that we have forgotten to consider the fundamental situation that lies behind all our contention. It is a situation that would exist, with or without a League of Nations. It would exist with an Association of Nations: It would exist if we set up a world court without the power of coercion. It would exist, but in another way, if it was decided that no formal attempts at international cooperation would be made. It is always there, in the fringes of the present, where today runs into tomorrow, and we cannot know too clearly what claims it has upon our sympathy and interests. The people are the rulers. It is we who have to understand so that we may decide. In its largest and most apparent phase it is closely connected with the world's industrial life; and we cannot do better than consider for a few minutes in what respect international industry stands today in a situation of abnormality, and in what respect our own interests are involved in its critical condition.

The mechanism of international commerce is the product of long experience. It depends upon the proper adjustment of international finance, trade, credits, the supply of raw materials, hopefulness, transportation, and various other activities. One of its noticeable qualities is its tendency to go in the channels in which it has been in the habit of going. For example, when the people of a certain state have become used to buying and using the merchandise of a certain other state, it is very difficult to get them to drop what they have been using and begin to use merchandise that comes from a third state, even though it may be possible to prove that the merchandise of the third country is better in itself. It is not often in the history of industry that we encounter a general shaking up of trade conditions, giving us the possibility of making new adjustments without a long period of struggle to capture markets.

But it is just at such a situation that the world has arrived today, not through its choice, but through its necessities. Countries that formerly were firmly established in all the phases of industry are now in severe straits. The manufacturing, transportation and credit facilities of the continent of Europe are in a confused condition. It will take them several years to regain the state of equilibrium, and while they are coming to that happy state the United States have a wonderful opportunity

to get and hold a footing there, which at later time could be obtained only by a process of severe competition.

Whether we do or do not utilize the opportunity before us depends primarily on our business men; but not entirely. It depends to a notable extent on the attitude of the people of the country. Unquestionably there are a few people in the United States who would deliberately and knowingly block our progress in this respect. But there are many who could block it by not knowing what the situation is and how their own views of what the government ought to do in the situation bear upon it. It is our good fortune to live under a government of the people. Well, at this moment the people of this country are called upon to decide whether or not they shall block or promote the development of the United States in keeping with the industrial and political opportunities that confront us in international affairs. With the best intentions in the world our people cannot be expected to act prudently in the matter unless they understand the opportunities that confront us.

Before 1914 the United States was a debtor nation. For years we had borrowed money to build railroads, canals and industrial plants, and to develop mining and agriculture. For the interest on our borrowings we had to pay Europe annually more than \$250,000,000. Whatever else we did this money had to be paid. We fulfilled the description involved in the biblical phrase, "The borrower is a servant of the lender." We had chosen, also, to put our best efforts into manufacturing, as some sections of our farmers put all their efforts in production of one crop, expecting to buy what they needed in other respects. Thus we had given up the operation of a merchant marine and were paying Europeans \$200,000,000 a year to carry our goods to market. This interest charge and this freight bill, with the amount of money our tourists took abroad with them and some other items, made a grand total of nearly \$600,000,000 a year.

The sum was so great that it was impossible to pay it in gold, the only international money. To have tried to do so would have exhausted the stock of gold in the country in a few years, which means that our banks would have been forced to suspend specie payments of their notes. It was about nine times as much as the amount of gold mined in this country annually. The other alternative was to pay it in commodities; and that is what we did. Every year we sent abroad \$600,000,000 worth of products in excess of the value of the merchandise we imported. If we did not quite make the total out-go and the total in-come balance we called the difference the balance of trade. If the prices of our commodities were low the result was that they did not sell for enough to pay all we owed for merchandise

imported and for the stated obligations, and we said that the balance of trade was against us. If they sold for more than we owed the balance of trade was in our favor. When it was against us we sent gold abroad to pay it, when it was in our favor we received gold to make up the balance. There were times of great uneasiness when the balance against us was large and the drain of our gold outward was heavy.

The day Europe broke into war our long period of bondage began to mend. Europe now began to buy from us far more heavily than we were buying from her. Desiring to keep her gold in Europe she began to send back to us the bonds we had sold her, and on which we were paying interest. During the first three years of the war she more than canceled the debt we had owed her before the war began. At the same time we were forced to think of our own shipping. We built it up until we ceased to rely on other countries, and thus we saved in our own pockets the larger part of the freight bill we had formerly paid. But the steady stream of orders for American merchandise continued to pour into our offices, and by the time the third year of war was beginning Europe was forced to go on a borrowing basis. We now became the lender, and Europe became the borrower. From having been forced through many years to wait upon the pleasure of others, we were in a position to have others wait upon our pleasure.

In May, 1917, the United States had been in the war one month. Great men from London, Paris, Rome and other cities, some of which we had to get down atlases to know where they were, began to arrive in Washington. They told us many important things about how to carry on the war into which we had entered; but they were all urgent for loans. The big states wanted big loans, the little states would take anything we had to offer. And to all of them our government lent according to their necessities. The British came first, and the newspapers announced that they wished to borrow £50,000,000. The response in the press was favorable and it was announced that they wished £100,000,000. After a few days it was stated that the United States government had decided to lend them \$500,000,000. Probably some of us did not at the time notice the change in terms. The value of the pound is determined by the British parliament: the value of the dollar is determined by the congress of the United States. It was thought just as well that the borrower did not have the power to fix the value of his own debt symbol. The incident marks the change of position that had occurred in the financial relations of the two nations. For the first time in many years Great

Britain was not in the position to dictate. She had to accept dictation, which is the ordinary fate of the debtor.

At last the war ended. The horrible wound on the face of the earth, running from the borders of Switzerland to the North Sea, ceased to bleed. Through it humanity had been yielding up its life for more than four years. It remained to be seen if the patient had been reduced to such a state of weakness that death would come of sheer weakness. For more than two years we have been watching with anxiety the struggle between exhaustion and the recuperative powers of nature. It is only with the approach of a new spring season, that we are beginning to feel that the crisis is about to pass favorably; but the patient is greatly in need of nourishment, and if he does not get it ugly complications are possible.

The situation of the world today may be summed up as follows: In 1913 the aggregate debt of the nations of the world was \$43,200,931,000; since the war, by the best available information it is \$279,014,908,000, an increase of about \$236,000,000,000. The United Kingdom of Great Britain, which was believed to be heavily in debt in 1913 at \$3,485 millions, now owes \$39,314 millions. France owed then \$6,346 millions: she now owes \$46,025 millions. Italy then owed \$2,921 millions: she now owes \$18,102 millions. Germany, including the German states, before the war owed \$5,048 millions: she now owes on the same basis \$59,861 millions. The smaller of the belligerent nations have, in general, been forced to increase their indebtedness in the same relative manner. Nations that were believed to be burdened to the limit of prosperity in 1913 have increased their obligation from six to eleven times as much as they then owed. With industry prostrate they have to assume the increased burden. On a population filled with discontent they have to lay new and heavy taxes, with the danger that a despairing electorate may run into the extremes of radicalism and solve their difficulties by repudiating the whole obligation. It is a situation demanding patience and wise assistance from whatever source available.

From this distressed condition of Europe turn the eye to the United States. In 1913 their debt was \$1,028 millions: in 1920 it was \$24,299 millions. For the time we were in the war the rate at which it plunged us in debt was exceedingly high. If we had been in from the first, and the same rate ratio had maintained through the whole war, which is not probable, we should have increased our debt by more than \$62,000,000,000, the interest on which at five per cent, would have amounted to \$3,100 millions a year. And this

would mean that every man, woman and child in the country would pay on an average of \$30 a year in taxes merely to pay the interest on the war debt. Such a burden, heavy as it seems, would not be heavier than the burden before which Europe shudders.

The United States, however, came out of the war without having impaired seriously their powers of production. In fact, so carefully had those powers been stimulated during the war that we are today, as respects manufacturing plants and the mastery of the resources of nature, in a better position than ever before to meet the demands on our processes of production. During the war we improved the processes of agriculture, so that a man with the same amount of land can make more of a given product than before the war. At the same time we have materially enlarged our manufacturing plants, drawing into them rapidly the working population at the expense of rural industries. By the census statistics just made public 51% of the population of the country now live in towns and cities; that is less than half of the people in the country are producing the food on which the 51% of the population must live. We are thus about to arrive at the stage of development to which Alexander Hamilton looked forward in his Report on Manufactures—when we can more is, less than half of the people in the country are producing the food its wants in food products.

For a time after peace came to the world, the demand for our commodities came freely from the utmost parts of the world. We could sell all we could produce, and more. We have never been able to satisfy the demand. Today there are people in Europe who are in dire distress for merchandise that we can make, although our mills are closed down or on part time, because they cannot sell to those who have nothing with which to pay. Thus it happens that textile mills in New England are closing down, while people in Poland are shivering in their outworn and threadbare garments.

The outward expression of such a situation is the rate of exchange. In normal times nations balance their accounts by figuring the values of their respective units of money on a basis of the gold value in them. When, however, the foreign nation has not the goods to export to another nation in payment for what it imports, nor the gold with which to settle the balance of trade, it stops buying from that nation. When it sees such a cessation as a possibility, it tends to check its advance by raising the rate of exchange. For example, in normal times, when France buys from us about what she sells to us, she counts five francs as approximately equal to our dollar. When her citizens find that

it is hard to get bills on New York, that is bills to pay for what France has exported to the United States they begin to offer higher sums than five francs for a dollar. They may offer six or ten if their necessities are great. in these days they are offering, and paying daily, more than sixteen francs for a dollar. American imports are costing the French people very dearly. They are costing them so much that there has been a great shrinkage of orders for them. It is not likely that there will be a change until the French are able to send us their own goods more freely than they can now send them. Our industrial relations with France are similar to our relations with most other countries. Everywhere, despite the fact that we are not running factories on full time we are sending out vastly more than we sent before the war, and more than we are receiving. The world's balance of trade is in our favor to a large amount.

At the same time we have a large account against the rest of the world for interest on the loans made by our government during the war.

The amount of these loans in round numbers is \$9,711,000,000 although a slight reduction has been made in some of them through readjustments. At the same time increased borrowing in private accounts in our money markets has increased still more the amount of our interest account against Europe. Combining the two items it is estimated that we are in a position to demand about \$600,000,000 annually from Europe in payment of interest. At present we are not collecting the interest on our public lendings. If that were demanded it would put the rate of exchange still higher. While we forego it, however, it is being paid by the faithful American taxpayer to the amount of about \$405,000,000 a year.

Such is the business situation today in the world. Europe is wounded to the quick, the United States are full of life and energy and ready for greater achievements than ever before, but suffering just at this moment because the purchasing power of the rest of the world is so badly reduced that orders are not being received. What does Europe want of the United States under these circumstances? And what reply should we make to her requests? Is it not that she wants what every distressed man wants of his strong and prosperous neighbor? It is not charity to enable her to live in a state of dependence, but aid in recovering economic independence. For if one of two neighbors lives in poverty and distress and the other lives in luxury and does not try to help him who suffers, the happiness and prosperity of each will be diminished.

Two methods of meeting the case and rendering help to the sufferers, are possible. One is to wipe off the debts and let Europe make a new start, so far as we are concerned. The other is to adopt and carry through a wise plan of helpfulness to enable Europe, our customer, to get on her feet and pay her debts as she becomes self-supporting again.

The objections to the first plan may be summed up as follows: (1) It is not scientific. It is no real help to Europe to make her a gift, since in accepting it she would lose that sense of self-reliance which is the basis of good national as well as of good personal character. The individual is better off when he pays his own debts. (2) Assuming that the bonds are to run for 35 years at four and a quarter per cent. interest the ultimate sum paid by our taxpayers would be \$23,252,000,-000. That is too much burden to assume unless its assumption is inevitable. In this case it is not inevitable. Europe is not bankrupt utterly: she is bankrupt temporarily. There is a way to put her on her feet again, and that way is to accept the second of the two plans just mentioned.

When a business concern falls into temporary disaster, it goes into the hands of a receiver, whose function is to take direction of operations, reduce unnecessary expense, cut off unprofitable features of the business, reform the direction of sales, manufacturing and other departments and generally re-establish the life and energy of the enterprise. While he operates he holds in abeyance, if necessary, the payment of obligations incurred in the past; and to obtain money to carry on the business in its new form he issues certificates of receivership, which have status of preferred obligations over old debts. By this means the receiver is able to relieve the business of its embarrassments, if it is fundamentally sound, and to put it in a way to pay off its obligations.

There is every reason to believe that the nations of Europe are today fundamentally sound. They have the working population necessary to resume their ante-bellum operations, they have the plants they once had, except in the districts in which the ravages of war occurred in their worst forms; they have the facility to manufacture developed through long periods of skilful production; and they have the willingness to come back. Their great need, like the need of an embarrassed corporation, is capital to tide them over the period of re-organization. If they could be put through some such process as I have indicated the capital could be obtained. It is only necessary to offer as security something more than the general pledge of the governments concerned, since in such case the security is nothing more than the security

behind the general debts of these governments, and that is a security deeply impaired by the weight of debt that the war has produced.

Of course it is difficult to induce the nations of Europe to place themselves into the hands of a receiver. Their instincts are against giving up their full control over their affairs. Certainly, they could not be expected to place themselves in the hands of any other power, however great and good. It is not desired that they place themselves under the supervision of the United States. Nor is it desirable that we should assume any such obligation. Our form of government, our domestic problems, and our national habits are such as to make it inadvisable to set ourselves up as the sole guardians in such a matter.

But it would be a different thing if there were an international commission, in which the nations themselves should have representatives, to take over the functions of adjustment; and in this commission our government could have representation. The plan of the League of Nations looked forward to such a commission. It does not yet appear what is to be the future of the League. But it is not necessary to have the League in order to have the Commission. It is only necessary for the governments to pledge their faith to organize it and carry it through in good faith. It should be endowed with power to tell the nations concerned what they ought to do in order to restore their financial health, to enforce during its existence the necessary economies in public expenditures, and to give direction to the development of national industry in so far as it is necessary to direct it in order to get the best possible results out of it. It is an enterprise that would not involve any of the co-operating states in war, or in any obligations that would lead to war. It would rest solely upon the world's sense of good business, a thing which has never failed the world in the past.

Now the basis of confidence in such a process is the economic interests of the co-operating states and nations. I can think of no party to the plan whose happiness would not demand its success. The merchants of the United States would be interested because it would give solidity to international trade, the financiers because it would remove uncertainty from international investments, the manufacturers because it would enlarge the markets for their products, farmers because it would enable foreign purchasers to take more freely of our food and cotton. The taxpayers of the United States would be deeply interested in it because it is the surest way for them to escape having to assume the payment of the money we have loaned to Europe. Of the people in Europe I can think of none who would be opposed to such a thing except those experimenters who declare that human happiness depends

upon the entire overthrow of the existing form of society. They do not desire the stabilization of society, for their hope is in the spread of discontent and confusion.

Besides the force that a reasonable sense of self-interest would give to the plan, we have the power of our credit as a means of protecting ourselves if worse should come to worse. In any normal condition of trade in the coming years we can expect the balance of trade to be decidedly in our favor. By calling for the interests on the loans we can make it necessary for Europe to send us more than four hundred million dollars a year on that one account. Now outside of the United States the world's production of gold does not exceed in value \$305,000,000. If Europe could command all of it—and she cannot do that—she would not be able to send us in money the interest she owes on the debt by \$100,000,000. Let us say her available gold supply for export out of increased production in the mines is \$250,000,000, which is liberal, she would still have to find \$150,000,000 in either gold or products to pay her bill. And to this we must add the interest she will have to pay on the increasing volume of private loans she is contracting in this country. On the other hand, we could use this important power of credit in such a way as to benefit Europe; or, if it became necessary through some unfair conduct on her part, it could be used to force her to do as we wished. If, for example, we called today for the interest due on the loan, it would exhaust the gold reserve of Europe in four years. It would not be necessary to use such power. The mere existence would be enough to warrant that it would not have to be used.

In this discussion I have tried to keep the argument on a purely economic basis; but it has a moral side also. We are in a position to make ourselves liked in Europe as no other nation has been liked there, and being liked as a people will promote our business interests there. It seems inevitable that our capital will have to be loaned freely to put Europe on her feet again; but it makes a deal of difference whether we lend it in a haphazard way, or in accordance with some scheme that commends itself to the business intelligence of the nation. If in the former way uncertainty and irregularity will ensue, and much of the good will and respect that might have been had will be dissipated.

Before Europe the United States stands today as the rich uncle who has been to distant lands, accumulated a vast fortune, and comes back among his impoverished relatives, all of whom are intent on getting some of his money, which they need sorely. He is not a

selfish or mean man and he means to help as he can. In carrying out his purposes he can follow one of three courses. He can hand out his money lavishly, taking no receipts and asking nothing in return, in a truly avuncular way. In that case he will receive many kisses and few thanks. Or he can take the position of the very suspicious man, who doesn't mean to be hoodwinked by persons who profess their love and loyalty. In such a case he will have his money screwed out of him in parcels, some of it going to those who should have it, and some of it going to those whose tongues are most clever. A third course is to take a broad view of the situation, confer in good faith with all who want, get the facts on the situation, lay down on the table as much as he can spare, and hand it out to those who wish and who will use it in such a way as will yield him a safe return while it enables them to proceed in their business in an advantageous manner. For which of these courses have you the proper respect? And for which do you think the beneficiaries will have the greatest gratitude? By following the third the wise uncle will make himself a place in the community. He will be able to write his ideas on its future development and maintain some kind of control on its course.

What does the world want of this rich and fortunate country of ours? Money? Yes, it wants money—not money flung at it in the spirit of a nabob, as one who should say: "Take it! I have plenty!" But money that is the expression of a broad understanding of the world's problems; money that is burnished with intelligence; money that talks because it understands the task it has to do. It needs the help that is an expression of knowledge. That is the only help that is worthy of us, and the only help that will yield us the permanent friendship of the peoples of the world. And if it is given to the world in the way that makes the world respect our leadership, the result will write the word "America" across the history of the twentieth century in letters that shall never fade. It will make for us an influence that is only limited by the capacity of our country to wield it.

Please do not misunderstand me. I do not wish to force the current of events. That is always unwise. But it does not seem too much to urge that the situation actually before the world today be turned over to men who know how to meet it. When the business intelligence of the United States has been trusted it has always proved equal to the demand upon it. Turn over the world's industrial crisis to it. Tell it to obtain first of all the confidence and co-operation of the business

intelligence of the stricken countries. I think it can do that, for it has always been able to do it in the past. Let it, out of this general confidence and co-operation, create the group that is to direct and give authority to the efforts that are to be made. And while the process is going on let us all agree that the people of the United States will give their moral support to the government. Let them also remember to keep hands off. There must be no throwing of monkey-wrenches. There must for once be a trusting of the experts in the realms of the technical. Whether we shall meet this crisis in some such way as this, or muddle through it according to the instincts of the moment, is the great question of the day. What the world wants of the United States today is business sagacity, breadth of view, and leadership.

Patriotism

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Though we cannot say that the outward circumstances of a man's life are the logical projection of his character, yet we may wish that they were. In so far as we can make the world over, we should like a man's possessions and the scene he occupies to be, as Socrates prayed, in harmony with what he is. But however this harmony may be our desire, it seems to be no concern of the gods; the human lot, if left to itself, continues to fall in curious and unequal places, for the historian to set down, even if he cannot explain them, and for the philosopher to surmount by whatever wings he may command. Only from time to time intelligence looks the hard fact in the face, and some strong will undertakes to bring about in life that order which it cannot find there. Then, at least for that moment, the race approaches the moral climax of civilization, when some man assumes responsibility for the environment in which he has been placed. To make so magnificent an assumption is once more to steal the fire from heaven. The exploit we need not add, is unusual; the Titan is rare. But no other assumption converts the stream of experience into a drama so exciting, so human and so significant, or opens to the imagination a career so bold. In private life, although we cannot measure the extent to which the accidents of birth and nature determine our fortunes, yet without hesitation we distinguish in degree of nobility between him who accepts his fate with resignation, as something that has happened to him, and him who tries first to see in each event some witness to his own progress or his own error in the art of life. Though in this world of infinite changes and chances we are aware how small an area of experience can ever be brought under our control, yet since the area of responsibility is all the field we have for the exercise of character, we give our admiration to the man who would enlarge its boundaries. Not only in private life, but in public affairs as well. There will always be men and women who conceive of government and of society as sections of environment related to them geographically, as it were, but not morally—objects for them to study, to criticize, and possibly to reform. But they whose character is most exalted, and whose imagination embraces the widest arc of experience, perceive that the reform must begin in themselves, for *they* are government, and *they* are society—or if this is not strictly

the fact, they desire it at once to be so. For them patriotism is a human and practical religion, a pursuit of their own ideals in the image of their country, a moral passion urging them to the decisions of intelligence and of conduct, with possibilities of heaven or hell.

What usually goes by the name of patriotism and takes on extraordinary value in time of war, is the natural love of the soil, of the place where we and our people have lived. Unless some abnormal influence pervert us, all men have this love which clings to the world as it is. Yet this kind of patriotism, one of the most beautiful of instincts, is nevertheless an instinct, and needs to be distinguished from that rare moral virtue of which I now speak, which not only regards its environment with pious affection, but assumes responsibility for it, as for the consequences of its own choice. The man who never to himself has said, "This is my own, my native land," is in some sense indeed a dead soul; he lacks that instinctive piety out of which what we may call a moral patriotism can rise. But the majority of mankind, who are frequently conscious of their native land, and who earn thereby the common name of patriots, do not, after all, deserve the exclusive award of the title, nor the excessive praise which poets and orators have lavished upon them. Why should a man be praised for having that which not to have is to be despicable or maimed? What virtue is there in having the usual two hands or two eyes? Or what high place in story should be ours merely for loving the children we beget? Do we suspect our instincts begin to fail, that we should pride ourselves on having one good instinct still in common with other animals? The love of the soil, the love of our own place, like the affection for our young, is planted it seems in every heart that beats at all; it is not so much a grace of life as a condition on which life is tolerable; it is so bound up with the other rooted pieties of our nature, that to separate it, as I wish now to do, from a higher quality, to say that it is only an instinct, and to praise the virtue that rises upon instinct, seems to intend violence, even sacrilege, to a sacred trust. Yet without intending violence or sacrilege, we may properly remind ourselves of some half forgotten claims of the life of reason. At critical moments of history there have been thoughtful enquiries as to which kind of patriotism is truly a virtue, the fidelity to the environment, or the insistence that the environment should be faithful to our character; and twice or thrice great spirits have tried to dedicate even the mass of common men to a moral responsibility for the world about them. Such another critical moment we live through now and we have special need to make the enquiry once more. No single leader has arisen to dedicate us to a

moral patriotism, and none seems likely at this moment to arrive. All the more cause why scholars as a body, and men of thoughtful habits should make available for their fellows the wisdom that the race experience yields. This wisdom, if known, would itself be a kind of leadership, and no other kind, as it seems to me, are we likely to have for some time.

During the war and since the armistice we have listened to voices undeniably great. We have been summoned to sacrifice and to unselfishness, we have had held before us a noble and, however vague, a lasting vision of world peace, and we have been urged—we believe not in vain—to assume responsibility for the conditions of mankind outside our borders. But at the same time, and with an inconsistency not new in human annals, we have had preached at us, and perhaps we ourselves have preached, the desirability of only one kind of patriotism at home, the instinctive kind, which issues in obedience rather than in moral responsibility. We have watched the coming on the American scene of a formidable apparition—the spirit which lays upon the political offender, upon the minority which we hope is mistaken, but which we know is frank, a condemnation more lasting and more severe than upon the weakling who hides himself at the nation's call for aid. A deficiency in the primal instinct to cherish and protect our kindred and the place of one's birth, we have seen treated by a considerable and supposedly solid public opinion, as a not very serious defect, perhaps even a symptom of idealism; whereas a disposition to scrutinize national policy or national conduct, or to sharpen the public conscience to defects in our social or political world, with the intent to remedy them, has come to be thought dangerous as a viper's fangs, not to be argued with but to be stamped on. The spirit which makes this distinction is, I repeat, a formidable apparition, fraught as I think with no good to our national philosophy. It is, for one thing, too much like the spectre of ruthlessness against which we undertook to crusade, and it has aptitudes for teaching us those quick ways of dealing with minorities which we used to consider typical of the older Russian tyranny. Worst of all, the spirit which discourages the rational and moral patriotism, and cultivates only the instinctive and emotional, will raise up a dragon to devour those noble dreams of world unselfishness to which, as I said, we have been called to dedicate ourselves. The love of the soil, so long as it remains only an instinct, has in it no element of concern for anyone else's land. We need not be surprised, therefore, if a nation trained to be patriotic instinctively and uncritically, and in no higher way, subscribes at last to an exclusive nationalism, with indifference, almost with hostility, to other people.

To raise the question at all is to incur risk of misunderstanding. There is the risk of seeming to agree with any political offender who may come to your mind as illustration of the point just made. In suggesting that moral patriotism is more desirable than the merely instinctive kind, we may seem blind to the fact that when an instinct is opposed to an idea it is usually the instinct which prevails; after enough instruction to convince us of the contrary we still have a feeling that the sun goes around the earth. We know further that to intimate the inferiority of the instincts as guides to conduct as over against the reason is a curious folly in an age like ours when both the familiar and popular philosophies have chosen to glorify instinct. But this is an old battle field of intelligence, this opposition of the rational to the merely instinctive life. At the risk of being misunderstood and at the still more certain risk of accomplishing no immediate victory, all of us who have hope for intelligence and would choose the better things of the mind, must cheerfully enlist once more in the oft-defeated cause of reason. Though we know that the humane philosophy of Aristotle, of Christ, and of Aquinas has never yet been widely practised, and that allegiance to it is ceremonial more often than even theoretically sincere, yet for us it is still the best that has been said or thought in the world. And, however vain our championship of it may seem, yet if men will take even a passing interest in an idea, we may perhaps prepare in the public mind a greater susceptibility to those seeds of reason which when they fall only on the instincts, fall on very hard ground indeed. The League of Nations, for example, is an idea, but being an idea, it cannot hope to succeed as the articulation and harmonizing of purely instinctive patriotism. It can become effective only when the patriotisms brought under it are of the same order as itself, rational and moral. There is no reason to hope, nor particularly to wish, that the various patriotisms of the world, even though they should become rational, would be identical or even in much initial harmony with each other. any more than we can expect the rational ideals of the individual to coincide with the ideals of his neighbor. But once we have raised patriotism to the level of reason, we shall have brought it to the sphere of intelligence and responsibility in which light and agreement can conceivably be arrived at.

II

Meanwhile, it is only for the principle of patriotism as moral responsibility that we need to plead. The principle truly needs our championship. There are those in the world still who find no meaning

in life, who give it up as a hard question put to us daily for our irritation without hope of an answer. There are others, the majority among us, who find an answer to the question in obeying our instincts and in submitting to our environment. There are still a few who look for the answer in man himself, in his control of his instincts and his dedication of the environment to his own uses. The majority of us, I repeat, have relegated fate to the world about us; in modern philosophy it is the universe, not the human race, that has the real adventure in morals. A few of us, however, following Greek thought as we believe at its best, would place the throne of fate as much as possible in our own nature, giving to ourselves a divine possibility, the freedom of choice that a god should have, and a responsibility for his actions that not even a god could avoid. As Herodotus and Thucydides wrote history, they explained their wars or their other afflictions as caused by the ambition or the selfishness or the unwise decision of individual men, and for their happiness and prosperity they gave credit not to the environment but to their fellows. When Peisistratus set up his tyranny in Athens, Solon addressed the famous verses to his neighbors:

"If ye have endured sorrow from your own baseness of soul, impute not the fault of this to the gods. Ye have yourselves put the power into the hands of these men."

And when Pericles in his great speech had extolled the city above all other states, he turned the glory into a crown for the dead:

"The Athens I have praised is only what these men have made it."

The difference between this Greek point of view and ours is a difference of philosophy, not, as we often fancy, a difference of knowledge. We need only examine Thucydides or Herodotus to be persuaded how modern were those old historians in their observation of economic or other advantages or handicaps; they saw all that we see. Thucydides tells us that the richest soils are always most subject to a change of masters; he gives as his opinion that Agamemnon was enabled to raise the expedition against Troy more by his superiority in strength than by the oaths of the suitors to follow him; he says that the expedition against Troy was small, not for lack of men but for the difficulty of providing an adequate commissary, and he thinks the Trojans were able to hold out so long only because a large proportion of the Greeks had to cultivate the invaded soil or forage for supplies; he points out the significance of sea power, in peace and in war; he says that the Peloponnesian war was made inevitable by the growth of the Athenian power, and the fear which this inspired in the Lacedaemon. All this sounds modern. But Thucydides does not make up his history out of the environment—out

of economic or any other external conditions; rather, he goes on to tell how Athens decided to protect the Corcyrans against the Corinthians, and how this decision started the war; how the Spartans massacred the Plataeans, and how the Athenians exterminated the inhabitants of Melos, and the moral results of those actions; and how at last through evil choices the power of Athens was destroyed. He hoped, he said, that his record might be prized not as a romantic chronicle of events, but as a storehouse of human wisdom, that it might be judged useful by those inquirers who desire an exact knowledge of the past as an aid to the interpretation of the future. With this purpose, he treats the Peloponnesian war as a series of decisions which the combatants had to make, and the battles and other events follow as the divine commentary on the decisions. He introduces the account of conduct in each instance with an elaborate report of the debate of which that conduct was the event, and we hardly needed his hint to observe that the speeches as he gives them were probably never made, but are his statements, rather, of the various points of view which converged on that issue. His interpretation of history, therefore, is neighbor to Plato's method in philosophy, a dramatizing of moral ideas, for the better observation of their implications.

Much as we may admire this high-mindedness in Thucydides, who has been a long time dead, I confess I cannot perceive a tendency in living historians to imitate it, nor in the rest of us to desire it of historians now writing. Explain the fall of a great power as the moral consequence of its decisions! A British historian might so narrate the collapse of Germany, but would a German historian so narrate it? Or would an English or American historian tell the story with such a conviction of moral responsibility, if it were Great Britain or the United States that had come to disaster? And if he did, what would we do to him? But Thucydides was an Athenian. Writing of his own city and of his own day, he refused to remove from man the dignity of moral choices; he persisted in the faith that the good and the bad of life are not causes, but rather things to choose between. The extremes of Aristotelian temperance, the earthly and the heavenly steeds in Plato's vision, were to come under the control of intelligence. Because of this locating of fate in human conduct, this enshrining of the god in the heart of man, the Greek philosophy once seemed humane, and the monuments of the Greek spirit were called the humanities. We have kept the word but have somewhat lost the old meaning. The humane person was one who understood his responsibility for his own moral career; with us the humane person is one who by his benefactions becomes as it were the moral system of his neighbor. Our kind of humaneness Herodotus noticed from time to

time in the character of a Persian tyrant, but we must search long for it in portrait of a Greek, who thought it a greater benefit to increase the freedom of a man's moral choice than to protect him from the choice altogether. Says Pericles:

"The freedom which we enjoy in our government extends also to our ordinary life. There, far from exercising a jealous surveillance over each other, we do not feel called upon to be angry with our neighbor for doing what he likes. Yet we obey the laws, not only the written, but also those which, though unwritten, cannot be broken without dishonor."

Not all the hearers of Pericles understood his high philosophy, of that we may be sure. Doubtless many of those dead whom his oration immortalized had fought for their portion of Attic soil instinctively, with a quite simple clinging to their hearth, and with no more complex patriotism. When the Peloponnesians began to invade the country, it was by the advice of Pericles that the country folk had removed to the city their wives and children, their household furniture, even in some cases the woodwork of their houses. Thucydides says they found it hard to move, since most of them had always lived in the country. They were pagans in the old and profound sense, rooted to the earth by immemorial pieties; the soil they worked in was one with the dust of their fathers. They were mindful too, of a legendary independence, of the self-sufficient dignity of each minute village in the days before Theseus made Athens a political center. From such households there must have been many recruits in the Athenian army who fought not exactly because they had made an Aristotelian choice, but because it was unthinkable not to defend the family hearth and the family tombs. Just who the invader was, made no difference—Xerxes but yesterday, Archidamus today. The relatives of such men, listening to Pericles, may indeed have felt in some dim way the difference between instinctive patriotism and that vaster loyalty, moral and to their minds impersonal, of which the political orator spoke; but they probably preferred the loyalty of instinct.

It is just because the audience may not have agreed with Pericles in his immortal oration that we may turn to it now for light. On what subject did they disagree? We are often reminded nowadays that Pericles was seizing a dramatic occasion to glorify Athens and the cause of which he was the leader. On what ground did he glorify Athens? He represented it as a state for which the citizen was morally responsible: and if some of his hearers disagreed, it was because they doubted their share in this responsibility, or in their hearts may have declined to accept it. The grandeur of the oration is in the attempt to dedicate a whole people to a moral instead of an instinctive philosophy—grandeur

no whit lessened by the reluctance of the people to be so dedicated. The entire ceremony of which the oration was a part, had for its purpose to enlarge the tribal loyalty to the dimensions of a national ideal, and gently to bring away the ancestral religion from merely local shrines, and attach it to a place of common and intertribal memories. In the funeral procession, says Thucydides¹, cypress coffins were borne in cars, one for each tribe, the bones of the dead being placed in the coffin of their tribe. So much concession at least, to a natural and instinctive patriotism. Among these coffins was carried one empty bier, decked for the missing—that is, for those whose bodies could not be recovered. Finally, the dead were laid, not in their ancestral burying grounds, in the ancient villages they had perished to defend, but in the public sepulchre, in the suburb of the city called Beautiful, where they who fell in war were always buried, with the exception of those slain at Marathon, who for their extraordinary valor were interred on the spot where they fell. It was over the new graves in the military cemetery that Pericles spoke, before mourning relatives who perhaps would have preferred to bury the dead sons or husbands nearer their ancestors—as some of us, with the same instinct, would bring them home from France; so much more comforting is it, in spite of all we profess as to matter and spirit, that they should be covered with familiar dust than that they should rest in an idea.

Before such hearers Pericles made his great plea for intelligent patriotism:

“What was the path by which we reached our eminence?” [he asked.] “What was the form of government under which we became great? Out of what national habits did our greatness spring?”

Our institutions are free, he continued; advancement in public life goes by merit, and liberty in private life is without lawlessness. We have leisure for the mind, and we welcome the stranger within the city. But most of all we are morally responsible, and we cultivate reason. We place the disgrace of poverty not in owing to the fact but in declining to struggle against it. Instead of regarding discussion as a hindrance to action, we think it an indispensable preliminary to any wise action at all. In our enterprises we both dare and deliberate, and we give the palm of courage to those who best know the difference between hardship and pleasure, and yet are never tempted to shrink from danger.

“The Athens I have praised,” [he concludes,] “is only what these men and their like have made her. For this offering of their lives, made in common by them all, they have each received that renown which never grows old

(1) The following passages are paraphrased and adapted from the translation by Crawley.

and for a sepulchre, not so much that in which their bones are placed, but that noblest of shrines wherein their glory is laid up to be eternally remembered. For the grave of great men is the whole world. In lands far from their own, far from the funeral shaft and the epitaph, there is also a wider record of them, written in the human heart."

Those hearers who were reluctant to leave their dead in the national cemetery must have known that the last great phrases were directed particularly at them. They probably felt that Pericles was going quite too far when he threw overboard altogether the genius of locality, and said that the grave of great men is the whole world. But they had one tradition even in their tribal pieties, which may have helped them to understand better than we do his doctrine of moral responsibility in patriotism. They may not have followed him in the argument that man's concern is with the moral world; that he must take sides in moral questions; that the crisis of the state is simply his problem in morality on its largest scale; that the state is his creation, his poetry, the last incarnation of his ideal life, which should sum up all his other arts. But every one of them, of whatever tribe, would recall in his own history the legend of those who had founded states—Theseus and Solon, and innumerable other heroes from mythical time. Some of the states founded turned out well, he would recall; others were bad. In either case the legend explained the result by the character of the founder. He would think of these pioneers as we think of the pilgrim fathers, for whom the creation of government was not an end; but the Greek who listened to Pericles would also feel, as we sometimes do not, even when we think of the pilgrim fathers, that no state is established once for all, that no settlers are the exclusive pioneers, that no citizen, therefore, is excused from exercising the duty and the right to found the state again in his own moral choices. Athens had learned early to condemn all neutrals in public affairs. Plutarch reminds us of Solon's law that whenever a rebellion or sedition occurred, those who had not taken a definite stand on one side or the other should be disfranchised. With these principles in mind, the philosophers taught that all education should have for its end intelligent and moral citizenship, and that the difference between tyranny and democracy is that the tyrant has the moral responsibility for the state which he alone creates, whereas in a democracy all the citizens share the continuous founding, and all are responsible for it. The Athenians from the outer villages may have been restive under the far-reaching phrases of Pericles, but if they reflected at length on the doctrine, they would recall that the heroes of their antiquity had practised that virtue for which the great statesman was now speaking.

III

The wish to dedicate Athenian patriotism to a moral career, to raise it up to the region of ideas, in which conscious responsibility is possible, is found in other Greeks than Pericles—in Socrates, in Plato, in Aristotle, and in the orators; and if our modern interpretations are not altogether mistaken, it is the inspiration of most of the dramas Euripides composed. If we look at life fairly, with due allowance for all its difficulties and for the immense pressure in the daily routine that holds us, by a spiritual gravitation, to leaden-footed contact with familiar paths, it is not surprising that none of these prophets was permanently listened to, or that Socrates and Euripides, the most outspoken, were condemned by public opinion. A similar fate has attended others in later centuries, who with the same loftiness of spirit tried to translate into terms of reason the passion for their city or for their land. Dante hoped so to consecrate loyalty to Florence and loyalty to Rome. He dreamt of a two-fold city of God and earth, the Church and the Empire, both implanted by divine love in the midstream of history, that through both at once man might enjoy here the moral career without which no soul can be disciplined for heaven. That he wrote of monarchy and thought in terms of the empire is of little consequence in comparison with the fact that his ideal state was to be a moral opportunity, and that in his definitions of it he lays down a program for intelligence. Others might love their native Florence for other reasons, or with very different purposes might speculate as to the reform of church and state, but this is the old and rare philosophy—how familiar in the periods Thucydides and of Aristotle; how very unfamiliar still in the actual patriotisms history records! In politics as in science, he begins¹, we must do for posterity what our ancestors did for us; we must be ourselves in turn ancestors. For simply to be loyal to the past is to bring the past to an end, as the talent was buried in the napkin. We do not value a tree for last season's fruit. What fruit would you bear by demonstrating once more some theorem of Euclid? Who, after Aristotle, need expound the nature of felicity? Or who, after Cicero, need undertake the apology of old age?

He continues by expounding his new fruits in very old terms, yet they keep forever a kind of novelty, since the race has but seldom attended to them, least of all, perhaps, in the very times and places where they have been learned by rote. The poet was aware that his contemporaries would in one way recognize the Aristotelian echoes, but in quite

¹ *De Monarchia*, paraphrased and adapted from Wickstead's translation.

another sense he hoped that these great definitions, these essential manoeuvres of the mind, might come like revelation to men sunk in passions and instincts. There are some things, he proceeds, in no degree subject to our power; they are for our thought and contemplation. Other things, however, *are* subject to our power; we can think about them and do them. In the case of these, which compose the world of our moral responsibility, the doing is not undertaken for the sake of thinking, but the thinking for the sake of doing. The whole field of politics is eminently a part of this moral world, in which intelligence should precede conduct. For (passing over the special arguments for monarchy) the human race is best disposed when most free. This will be clear if the principle of freedom be understood. The first principle of freedom is freedom of choice, which many have on their lips but few in their understanding. They get as far as saying that free choice is free judgment in matters of will; and herein they say the truth, but the import of the words is far from them. What is judgment? Judgment is the link between apprehension and appetite. For first a thing is apprehended, then when apprehended it is judged to be good or bad, and finally he who has so judged it pursues or shuns it.

With this simple capitulation of old principles Dante embarks on his demonstration of God's will as to the empire and the church. By the same principles in his great poem he judges the politicians of Florence, friend and foe, and assigns to them with fervent rigor their place in hell or purgatory, and by the same principles he judges his own failure to deserve the salutation of Beatrice. One who has moved in the true order of reason, in which judgment controls appetite or instinct, and who yet condescends to a lower order, in which appetite or instinct controls judgment, has abdicated his high station, a little lower than the angels, and has joined the beasts. For he has surrendered his freedom, as the patriot surrenders liberty when his patriotism becomes only instinctive. If the judgment is moved by the appetite, which to some extent anticipates it, it cannot be free, for it does not move of itself, but is drawn captive by another. And hence it is that brutes cannot have free judgment, because their judgments are always anticipated by appetite.

If we may speak of appetite and instincts interchangeably, then these axioms and definitions allow no room among the virtues for that kind of loyalty to city or state which is instinctive. The natural love for one's birthplace or for one's habitat is a force which judgment or reason should guide; it cannot be an ideal in itself. It is for this doctrine of freedom that Dante stands in the race memory with Pericles and the few other great statesmen who have seen the moral aspect of patriotism. If

you protest that Dante used his axioms and definitions as a base on which to set up a defence of monarchy, I reply that Milton, a patriot of an equally reasoned morality, used much the same axioms and definitions to defend the idea of popular government; in either case, the political program they chose is far less important than the fact that the choice was rational. If you object again that such diversity of result is inconvenient or deplorable, and that a kind of patriotism which permits diametrically opposed conclusions cannot be sound, I must reply that this criticism can be brought against any system of morality which specifies freedom of judgment as one of its principles. The desire for unanimity is a deep-rooted instinct, which leads speedily to confusion wherever two or three are gathered together, for unless the ideal of free judgment tempers somewhat the demand for harmony, our instincts persuade us that those who disagree with us are evil. If you allow as much, so far as the individual is concerned, yet believe that the general good is best served when the citizens do not distract each other by various ideals, however rational, of the state they yield allegiance to, but simply and with single devotion love that state as it is, I reply that such a program of instinctive patriotism would produce harmony in the United States, in Great Britain and in Japan, let us say, and war among all three. The grace to understand and to sympathize with the stranger within or without our gates comes not by instinct but by the discipline of reason. It was a mistake for Dante to argue for unity of decision in the moral world; he then had to argue for one empire and only one. Milton, likewise, had he pressed his political applications far enough, would perhaps have deserted the principle of moral liberty and reached a Puritan intolerance. Pericles in the midst of his great vision was pleading for Athenian supremacy. This is to say that all three were to some extent caught in a natural instinct. But to all of them it would have seemed intelligent to use Wordsworth's image of the nobler allegiance; he felt for England, he said, as the mother for her child. The love of the mother for her child, not the love of the child for its mother. If our country is only our mother, we owe it reverence and gratitude, but it is too late to control its career, If it is our child, however, we are responsible for it.

IV

I offer ancient examples of a constant problem. In a world shared by both instinct and reason, the wise man will desire both in their strength even though it is hard to reconcile them. The stronger the instinct, the harder to control it; the instinct which begets love in us for our country will sooner or later, if uncontrolled, beget hate in us for other countries;

yet if the instinct is not strong, what energy is there to control? In the United States we have become detached from the soil; we have moved about from place to place, we have almost forgotten, some of us, what the household hearth looks like; no wonder that the instinctive loyalty which defends particular places and neighborhoods has seemed to fail within us; no wonder that we have tried to fan it into new flame. I believe we shall succeed in rousing such fervent gratitude in the average American heart for the fact that he is an American, and such unquestioning devotion to the land as it is, that unless we quickly bring our impulses under the control of moral judgment, we may become a menace to the earth. That way to madness is easier than we may think. To follow such a course is not only to withdraw within our appetite, as Dante would say, but it is also to leave the weapons of reason entirely in the hands of the crank, the agitator, and the radical, who whatever else may be their ignorance, understand the force of the old doctrine, that who most avail themselves of reason shall have the greatest power. The ideal state which the radical portrays seems to some of us an abomination. It has, however, the one great virtue of being an ideal, for which the agitator not infrequently goes to jail. We meet his ideals chiefly with our instincts. It is a natural instinct to build the jail and put him in it. But is there no ideal America to oppose to his, no ideal more soundly imagined, which reason might successfully urge upon him? Are we less than he the children of Plato, dreamers of ideal states and builders of just republics? If that is true, if we have surrendered to others the exclusive use of rational processes, then for us the monuments of literature and history have lost their meaning; the ages have stored up wisdom in vain.

But not in vain, we believe. The country our fathers bequeathed to us is too precious to be interred in any of our instincts, not even in the noblest. Too many dreams have voyaged to our shores for us to let go the habit of vision. And the patriotism which still dreams, has in it promise of the highest morality. We shall be as a guard set about the established city. We shall earn the right also to say with the Athenian envoys thousands of years ago, "We risked all for a city that existed only in hope.."

William Richardson Davie and Federalism

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Just a round century ago William Richardson Davie died upon his estate in South Carolina. It is fitting that the Literary and Historical Society of North Carolina, the state to which he gave his greatest service and which has every right to claim him as her own, should at this time assess the value of his contribution to her life.

Davie was born, 1756, in Egremont, Cumberlandshire, England. At seven years of age he was brought to South Carolina and adopted by his maternal uncle, William Richardson, a Presbyterian minister who owned an estate in the Waxhaw settlement on the Catawba. His preliminary education was at the hands of his uncle, then a period at Queen's Academy, Charlotte, North Carolina. He then entered Nassau Hall, Princeton, and received his arts degree at the hands of Dr. John Witherspoon in 1776, having employed his preceding vacation as a volunteer in the American army in its unsuccessful defense of New York against the British. With this youthful taste of military service, and upon the death of his uncle almost coincident with his graduation, Davie returned to South Carolina and almost immediately thereafter entered upon the study of law at Salisbury in North Carolina. In the following year he interrupted his studies to join a military force under General Allen Jones which was moving southward to aid in the defense of Charleston. In 1779 he became lieutenant of dragoons raised in the Salisbury District, was attached to Pulaski's Legion, and integrated with General Lincoln's army of the South. In the fighting about Charleston he was severely wounded. During his tedious recovery he resumed his law studies at Salisbury and received his license in the spring of 1780. The rising tide of British success in the state to the south called him again to arms in the same year. He was now in continuous service to the close of the war and emerged from the conflict with a reputation for military skill and daring second to no partisan leader in the South. After peace Colonel Davie married Sarah Jones, of Halifax, eldest daughter of General Allen Jones, his old military commander. He settled in Halifax for the practice of law and swiftly made a high place for himself in his chosen profession.

Davie's political activities form an intimate chapter of the state's history for the next twenty years. His political views, however, would

have scant meaning to present time unless projected upon the background of our early republican era. The North Carolina of the first two decades after the Revolution held in solution the elements which, though slow in precipitation, were ultimately to shape her present character. Social democracy was more nearly a reality in North Carolina than in either her neighbor to the north or to the south. This had been dictated by economic conditions less sharply marking the rich from the poor. State individualism, infused with the spirit of democracy, was the primary characteristic with which the state had emerged from the struggle for independence. This characteristic as a force now found political expression in a studied disregard of obligations to the Confederation government, in continued harrying of Tories, in new issues of paper money, in the prolongation of vicious "stay laws," and in extreme decentralization of state authority. It represented the tentative groping of the democratic spirit unchastened by experience. The theory of the French Revolution was already born in America before 1789.

It has always seemed to me that the American Revolution was produced by two distinct sets of forces, emanating from two different groups of men. Of the first were the reasoned out opinion of intelligent and educated Americans that they were the equals of Englishmen at home, equal in all their rights and in all their capacities for self-government. They were humiliated that England sent officials to America instead of choosing officials in America. It was natural that these sensitive and high-spirited colonial-Englishmen should capitalize the blunders of George III's place-men. The other set of forces was born of the mass and was the product of frontier environment acting upon a naturally independent and individualistic race. It may be summed up as the spirit of democracy, a thing impatient of restraints, even of those laid by itself. Ultimately this spirit was to more sharply characterize America in contrast to Europe than even its devotion to the theory of self-government.

This influence affected the mass mind and therefore the larger group of Americans. Davie and most of the educated men in North Carolina, as indeed in America, belonged to the first group. Independence being won they were now more interested in an orderly reconstruction of the political and economic edifice than in a politico-social rebirth of the country. This was an immediate and pressing need if the fruits of victory were to be enjoyed. Not only was there imperative demand for practical attention to after-the-war weaknesses

of the individual state, but to the bond of union between the states, which indeed had proved barely strong enough to carry them through their common danger.

Hence to informed and practical men like Davie first attention after the Revolution was due to the wounds made by the war; then to putting the new state government in harmony with sound political practice—practice approved by sound political precedent; and, thirdly, to strengthening the bond between the states.

But the state had emerged from the Revolution under the control of the popular or democratic party, the party swayed by popular passion and inclined to illustrate sharp contrasts with the past. At the same time this party was characterized by an intense consciousness of the state's individual sovereignty and an extreme disinterest in the common government, the Confederacy. This somewhat blatant democracy embodied in its membership most of the soldiers of the Revolution, many of their officers, the bulk of the state officials, and the mass of what Archibald Maclaine was fond of calling "the common people."

On the other hand the conservatives made up so small a minority that they may best be described as a coterie of educated men, mainly lawyers, who were well fitted for leadership and likely to acquire influence and power as soon as the passions of the recent conflict began to cool. Among the best known names in this group were Samuel Johnston, Benjamin Hawkins, Richard Dobbs Spaight, James Iredell, Archibald Maclaine, John Steele, and William R. Davie. But in the years immediately succeeding independence they were able only to exercise a moderating and restraining influence in state affairs. Most of them found places in the legislature and there, by sheer virtue of talent, often turned the majority aside from ultra-radical action. Their opportunity for control, however, was continually delayed. It promised to appear when, in 1786, it was proposed to strengthen the union by amending the articles of Confederation. This proposal found ready acceptance by them in that they had consistently held that the welfare of North Carolina was indissolubly linked with her sister states. It would, if achieved, bring about national and international respectability, a result that independence did not alone assure. Moreover it would doubtless correct various evils from which the country at large or the states individually suffered. Lastly, to the conservative the movement seemed to promise an opportunity for public service and public honors, in state and nation, to those who advanced it.

Interested alike in all these results the conservatives threw themselves with zeal and skill into the work of creating sentiment for amend-

ment of the articles. Davie, who had enjoyed a continuous service in the lower house as borough member from Halifax, had insisted upon and procured the appointment of delegates to the Annapolis Convention in 1786. In 1787 he was equally insistent upon a commission to Philadelphia. This the majority granted, though apparently out of deference to the invitation and the urging of the conservatives. The preamble of the act of appointment embodied the sentiments of the conservatives and bore the unmistakable stamp of Davie.

Nevertheless three of the commission, as elected, were of the dominant democracy, Willie Jones, the unrivaled leader of his party, among them. Jones was a particularist of extreme type, who, long in control of the majority party, had confirmed it in the view that North Carolina was its chief and practically only concern. Though he did not oppose sending delegates to Philadelphia, political consistency bade him refuse the appointment. Richard Caswell, the governor, burdened with heavy responsibilities at home, also declined, and being empowered by law to fill the vacancies, named two friends of the movement, in which his own sympathies were strongly enlisted. Hence the delegation as finally made up consisted of one democrat, Alexander Martin, and four conservatives, William R. Davie, Richard Spaight, Hugh Williamson, and William Blount.

Of Davie's activity in the Philadelphia Convention we have, of course, no complete record, but sufficient to show that his weight was thrown on the side of the large state-group which proposed that representation in the national legislature should be on the basis of population instead of an equality among the states. Nevertheless he came to indorse the compromise of equality in the senate and proportional representation in the house. Further, he strongly opposed counting out the slave population of the South in making up federal numbers, and finally put the convention on notice that the South would not federate unless at least three-fifths of the slaves were counted.

Davie returned to North Carolina to meet pressing engagements just before the convention adjourned. Nevertheless he lost no time in marshaling the sentiment of the other North Carolina conservatives for the new document. These now became an active working corps for its adoption, while the democrats looked on interested but questioning.

Even before the convention at Philadelphia had finished its labors the most far-sighted of the conservatives began to plan the election of a state governor in harmony with their views on the matter of ratification. They now began to call themselves federal men, and soon there-

after, Federalists. By assiduous correspondence and personal exertions practical organization was effected, the old conservatives to a man rallying to the new and fortunate issue. Control of the legislature must be the first objective, since the legislature elected the governor, and would be called upon to grant a state convention to pass upon the new constitution. Every prominent conservative in the state became a candidate for one or the other branches of the legislature. Intense interest was awakened as the fight became fast and furious, and much bitterness was engendered in many localities. The federal leaders took as their common theme the weakness of the old Confederation and, its corollary, the need of a firmer principle of union. Nevertheless it was clear, as the campaign developed, that they were forcing the fighting on the new ground as a means of gaining state supremacy, while the democrats, thrown upon the defensive, were struggling not so much to assure rejection of the constitution in advance as to maintain their control. Nor, despite the campaign declaration of the federal men, did democratic victory imply that the new frame of government, when submitted, would not be accorded due consideration.

The campaign was of considerable educative value and accentuated interest in larger affairs than the average North Carolinian had been wont to concern himself. Though the federalists had made a notable effort, and had attracted numerous recruits to their ranks, they failed to wrest control from the party in power. The democrats were easily able to organize both branches of the assembly when the body convened. Archibald Maclaine, beaten in New Hanover, had to solace himself with the reflection that 'the assembly contained *some* men of sense who would endeavor to do what was necessary.' Davie had easily secured his seat and appeared in the lower house as the ranking federalist member. Just from the scene of the constitution making at Philadelphia he was prepared to exercise an even greater influence than usual upon the actions of the assembly.

Now occurred in the legislature a most interesting inconsistency in political history. The democrats, after a most heated campaign, and now in full control of both branches, for the nonce held partisanship in abeyance, and on joint ballot chose Samuel Johnston governor despite his known opposition to the bulk of principles for which the majority stood. The explanation lies in Johnston's character, in Davie's political generalship, and in the nature of the questions which now confronted the state. Johnston was perhaps the best known federalist in North Carolina. As a most influential member in the revolutionary Provincial Council he was a potent force in the government of North

Carolina between the abdication of Josiah Martin, the last royal governor, and the accession of Richard Caswell under the state constitution. He served the state wisely and well during this critical period and would undoubtedly have become the first governor under the constitution had not Caswell's military achievements suddenly brought the latter into prominence as a desirable war-time executive. Though trusted by the whole state for his wisdom, probity, and patriotism Johnston was well known to be far from democratic either in personal practice or political theory. This explains his exclusion from political preferment since the Revolution, save three years in the Congress of the Confederation. Equally conversant with State and confederation affairs he was regarded as the man of ripest mind in the State. The democracy, confronted now with the necessity, even against its will, of fixing attention on Confederation affairs, began to have a sense of need of Johnston's wisdom.

With the executive office accorded to Johnston by grace, the democratic majority, also by grace, ordered the election of a state convention to consider the new plan of government which had been evolved by the Philadelphia Convention. The election of this convention aroused even greater popular interest than had that of the preceding assembly. Davie and James Iredell led the federalistic forces, the former clearly demonstrating the fact that he was the most eloquent constitutional advocate in the State. Together the two, at their own expense, issued a pamphlet in analysis of the constitution that takes rank with the ablest of the "Federalist Papers" of Madison, Jay, and Hamilton.

The election of convention delegates resulted in the choice of the ablest men of both parties, this being made possible by the fact of the old English practice that any freeholder might be chosen by any county or borough town whether he was a resident of the same or of some other. Too, there was an appreciation of ability and character very generally prevalent in North Carolina during the first four decades after independence, that made it possible and not infrequent for a constituency to confer public honors out of deference to those qualities, even though the recipient's political views may not have accorded with those of the electors so honoring him.

When the balloting had closed it was soon ascertained that the federalists had secured only a respectable minority of the seats in the convention. Nevertheless their leaders continued to hope that when the body met it would ratify. In this they relied upon the weight of the ten states that had already ratified. This was one more than was sufficient to secure the new union and the abandonment of the old Confederation. And among the ten was Virginia, whose influence was especially potent

in the Roanoke and Albemarle regions of North Carolina, regions which at that time were the most populous, the wealthiest, and therefore the most influential portion of the state. Davie wrote from Halifax in June: "The decision of Virginia has altered the tone of the *Auris* here very much." But, he further states: "Mr. Jones says his object will now be to get the constitution rejected in order to give weight to the proposed amendments, and talks in high commendation of those made by Virginia."

When the convention met, July 21, Jones proved to be firm in this purpose. He had kept his party's front quite unbroken, and so adroit was his one-man-leadership that he was in position to absolutely dictate the action of the convention. Nevertheless Governor Johnson, out of deference to his office and public character, was chosen by unanimous vote to preside. Davie and James Iredell bore the chief responsibility for advocacy of ratification. There was not a peer of either of them in the opposition camp. Virtual admission of this by the democrats was shown in their declination to enter into debate. They were content to leave the issue to the test of ballots rather than arguments. Thus for some days the federalist leaders stood forth to analyze the constitution, to show the benefits to accrue from its operation, and to point out the ills of the old order. Sensing the chief ground of fear of the democrats to be an over-strong central authority Davie continually emphasized the point that the new constitution was, in nature, a compact between the states, and the government to be set up under it, their agent. Spaight also reiterated this view. Nor does their theory seem to have been assumed to lull the suspicions of the opposition. Both had been members of the Philadelphia Convention and presumably knew the spirit in which the document was drawn.

Non-adoption, however, was predetermined. Jones finally embodied this decision in a resolution which likewise asserted the necessity for a bill of rights and suggested the call of a second federal convention. To the resolution was appended a declaration of rights similar to that in the state constitution, together with a list of twenty-six amendments very similar to those suggested by Virginia. The resolution was carried by a vote of 184 to 84 and a motion by a federalist to substitute a ratifying resolution was defeated by the same vote reversed; upon which the convention adjourned. New York ratified soon after, thus leaving only North Carolina and Rhode Island outside the federal pale.

Public opinion now began to veer around. Even the redoubtable Willie Jones weakened in his stand, as appears from his disinterest in the succeeding assembly elections. Nor did Davie appear in the

November assembly, but remained outside struggling to create sentiment to force a new convention from it. This result was achieved, but the democrats were able to defer its meeting until six months after the new federal government had been organized.

Davie was a member of this second convention and the proponent of the motion which ratified the constitution, November 21, 1789, thus bringing to a successful conclusion the issue in which his sympathies were so ardently enlisted.

By virtue of his service to the federalist cause Davie was now logically in line for federal honors, either at the hands of the people or by federal appointment. But in keeping with his ideas of disinterested service he put aside the urging of his friends to stand for a seat in congress, as well as the offer of a district judgeship by President Washington, and turned with redoubled energy to the task of stimulating North Carolinians to a more progressive citizenship. In this he, almost alone among North Carolinians of his time, sensed the fundamental need of the inchoate democracy rising in America. In the new Republic, the new state, and the new order of society which they portended, he realized before other men of the South that the quality of the mass intelligence must be raised. This only would assure a fitting use of the great opportunities which lay ahead.

The state legislature became his fulcrum, and during the next decade, and despite opposition party control, he prodded it toward the goal he had in mind. Thus he wrested from a reluctant legislature the creation of the State University. Then by personal supervision he saw to its erection, its opening, and guided its early years of operation. At the same time he was the chief patron and advocate of the few academies in the State. He procured the statute under which the state laws were revised and brought into intelligent co-ordination. It was through his activity largely that the state was brought to cede its western area to the federal government. He headed three successive commissions to settle boundary disputes with neighbor states. He sought earnestly to commit the state to a system of internal improvements. He found time from his ever-growing law practice to set an example upon his own estate at Halifax of the most advanced agricultural methods.

In matters affecting the federal union during this decade Davie was keenly sensitive to every influence that threatened to weaken its stability. It was this fear for the union that led him to regard Hamilton's assumption measures as too strong for the infant resources of the republic. It was the same influence that caused his endorsement of Justice Iredell's state-rights view in the Chisholm-Georgia case in 1794, an opinion

which the most orthodox Federalist ultimately conceded to be sound. This opinion was soon thereafter embodied in the eleventh amendment to the constitution, thus precluding the possibility of a citizen suing a state. On the Jay Treaty Controversy in 1795 Davie was more interested in the safety of the federal principle than in the nature of the treaty.

"The present Crisis," he writes to Justice Iredell, "appears to me to be the most delicate and important since the organization of the government. The Anti-federalists and the personal enemies of the administration have rallied with astonishing rapidity . . . I believe they will now make their last effort to shake the government."

Federalism as a set of party principles failed to develop strength in North Carolina during this decade, nor had Davie made this a chief concern in any of his tasks. The state remained under the control of the democracy, now beginning to call itself the Republican party and recognizing Jefferson as its national chief. It remained to be seen what would be the result, both upon state politics and upon Davie, should circumstances arise to threaten the principle of union to a graver degree than any heretofore.

This threat came in 1798 when the country was on the eve of war with France over the "X. Y. Z." incident and accumulated grievances. The Republican party, under Jefferson's inspiration, eagerly seized upon the Federalist measures, the Alien and Sedition Acts, as grounds for a strong partisan offensive against the administration of John Adams. The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions were the weapons of attack. To Davie they seemed utterly subversive of the principle of union and served as a sharp challenge to him and other North Carolina Federalists to win state control. Thus they would assure its support of the national honor in war and the integrity of the union in peace. To this end they were aided by the swiftly rising tide of national patriotism before an external danger. Davie and his lieutenants conducted an intensive campaign for mastery in the legislature. They secured a strong predominance in the senate and likewise a majority, though a small and waning one in the lower house. Davie was elected governor on joint ballot, being at the same time member of the lower house, though devoting most of his time to preparation of the state troops for war—for which purpose he had been appointed by President Adams a brigadier-general. He was to take his seat as governor on January 1, 1799.

In the meantime the then Republican Governor, Samuel Ashe, submitted the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions to the assembly in defer-

ence to the requests of the governors of those states. They were treated with great contempt by the senate; but the lower house passed a resolve to instruct the state's senators and request its representatives to move in congress for repeal of the Alien and Sedition Acts. This resolve the senate rejected by the decisive vote of 31 to 8. The lower house, by a scant majority, was convinced that repeal was the way out and in the bitterness aroused between the two houses over the "instruction question" cooperation on other questions was no longer possible. Hence when Davie was inaugurated he found a legislative deadlock on every Federalist measure. A bill to transfer the choice of presidential electors from the people to the legislature was firmly rejected by the lower house, even though the governor's whole strength was exerted in its support. Davie seems to have regarded this measure not as a party expedient in anticipation of continued Federalist control of the legislature, but as a wise and just protection against popular passion and over-hasty judgment.

Davie, in his official and private capacity alike, held the threat of disunion contained in the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions to be a graver danger than the war with France and so wrote Iredell in June, 1799. But his party's position was based on the war scare, and when Adams suddenly veered round and appointed a second commission to France he sealed the doom of Federalism in North Carolina as well as in the nation. The President tendered Davie an appointment on the Commission after a declination by Patrick Henry, but in his acceptance Davie suffered no illusions as to its wisdom or its chances for success. Just before sailing he wrote Iredell, "The appointment of Envoy is highly honorable to me and, under any other circumstances would have been certainly agreeable; but the unknown and ever-varying situation of the Government to which we are accredited, its strange, unparalleled character and unsettled policy, furnish no data upon which we can calculate the issue of our mission, and must cast the reputation of those concerned in it entirely upon chance." The mission, together with the First Consul's temporary change of French policy toward America, averted war, but at the price of disruption of the Federalist party.

In North Carolina it removed Davie from the governorship at the most critical moment in Federalist fortunes. We was now by far the most influential Federalist in the state and had he remained at his post would doubtless have been retained for the constitutional three consecutive terms. But upon his acceptance of the French mission his followers fell into panic and the Republicans of the lower house were able on joint ballot to force the election of a Republican successor.

Davie returned in January, 1801, to find his party shattered in state and nation and a contested election between Jefferson and Burr in the House of Representatives. To John Steele he wrote, February 2, 1801:

"The Federalists (i. e. in North Carolina) own the destruction of the constitution as an event almost certain under the administration of Mr. Jefferson; and as to the administration of Mr. Burr, although it may be energetic, *no man* knows what course it may take. I have been visited by a great number of the most influential and enlightened friends of government in this part of the country since my return and they all express insuperable repugnance to the election of Burr, urging his want of character, etc."

When the contest had been decided in Jefferson's favor and the Republican administration launched, Davie took the lead in North Carolina in an effort to rehabilitate his party's fortunes. Under his guidance a newspaper, the "Minerva" was set up at Raleigh to serve as the party organ. Its end was to be

"the noble object of suppressing falsehood and disseminating truth, of subverting the wild and visionary projects and opinions of Democracy and advocating in their place sound, substantial, and practical principles of Federalism."

In 1803, at the earnest solicitation of his party men, he reluctantly stood for the seat of his district in congress. Finding many of the moderate Republicans in his support, and fearing misunderstanding on their part, Davie issued a circular that they might know what to expect of him. It ran:

"I desire that it may be clearly understood that I never have and that I never will surrender my principles to the opinions of any man, or description of men, either in or out of power; and that I wish no man to vote for me who is unwilling to leave me free to pursue the good of my country according to the best of my judgment, without respect either to party men or party views."

This theory of public service is, of course, in contravention to that which has been accepted as the basis of representative government in America. But I venture to suggest that it is not yet proven that better results might not be achieved if Davie's principle was practice. Nevertheless it defeated Davie, and he was content that it should be so, unless his countrymen could rise to its acceptance.

The chief reason for Davie's fear of misunderstanding was that he had been made the object of the astute Jefferson's wooing through the federal patronage. As early as 1801 he had been tendered a commission-

ership to treat with the southwestern Indians, which he declined. In 1802 he had accepted a commission to treat with the remnant of the Tuscaroras in North Carolina; but this was as much a state service as national. He never for a moment regarded himself as committed to any support of the Republican party, but remained its harsh critic. Vehemently he condemned the repeal of "Mid-night Judiciary Act," and expressed the view that soon there would be no other than the Lilliputian ties of the public debt to hold the states together.

In 1805 he retired to a valuable estate he owned in South Carolina, but kept up a continuous correspondence with his old Federalist friends in North Carolina. Never softening toward Jefferson, he nevertheless had hopes of Madison, due likely to the position in which Madison had stood at the formation of the Union. In 1810, while the country was still smarting under the effects of the embargo policy inherited from Jefferson's term, he wrote:

"I sincerely believe he (President Madison) is a man of great virtue. We all know he has sense and the experience of many years in public life, and *they now* say he has more promptitude and decision than any man who ever filled the presidential chair. May God grant that this may be true! Our affairs may yet do well."

Nevertheless when Madison's administration in 1812 drifted into war with England and the discontent of the New England states had culminated in the Hartford Convention, Davie wrote:

"The movement in the New England states and the monstrous strides toward despotism made by the party in power have so stunned and astounded me that I know not what to say or write. It really appears to me that the present confederacy will not last two years more and that Mr. Madison will finish his career amidst the ruins of his country."

The federalism of William Richardson Davie was summed up in a passionate regard for the unity and welfare of America.

An Eighteenth Century Circuit Rider

BY FRANK NASH

Assistant Attorney General of North Carolina

He was not one of those who at that period were bearing the evangel of mercy out into the bye-ways of life as well as into its highways, to the pioneer on the frontiers as well as to the villager in his store or workshop. Instead, he was a minister of justice and a sturdy but discriminating apostle of nationalism. He was born at Lewes, Sussex County, England, October 5th, 1751, came to Edenton in the Province of North Carolina in 1768, was a practicing attorney when he was nineteen years of age, married when he was twenty-two, a state judge when he was twenty-six, a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States before he was thirty-nine, and died when he was a few days over forty-eight.

Today Judge James Iredell is everywhere recognized as one of our great statesmen-jurists. President Washington had no personal acquaintance with him, but had read his reply to George Mason and his speeches in the Hillsboro Convention of 1788, and was much impressed by the weight and force of his argument in favor of the ratification of the new constitution. When then there was a vacancy on the new Supreme Court bench, caused by the declination of Mr. R. H. Harrison of Maryland, the President sent Iredell's name to the Senate on February 10, 1790 and it was immediately and unanimously confirmed. He had no previous knowledge of the president's intention, indeed had been considering applying for appointment as district judge of North Carolina.

The United States Supreme Court as then organized, consisted of six justices, a chief justice, and five associates. It was to convene twice a year at the seat of government to hear appeals from the circuit courts. The circuit courts were composed of three judges, any two of whom were to constitute a quorum;—a district judge, one of whom was appointed for each state, and two supreme court justices. There were three circuits constituted: Eastern—New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut and New York, with Rhode Island and Vermont to be added later; Middle—New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland and Virginia; Southern—South Carolina, and Georgia, with North Carolina to be added. The act required two justices of the Supreme Court to hold circuit courts in conjunction with the local district judge in each one

of these circuits twice a year. Any two of these, however, would constitute a quorum for holding the court. The salary fixed by the act for justices of the Supreme Court was \$3,500 per year, with no allowance for expenses.

In this paper I am to try to depict some of the experiences of this great judge as he travelled about the country in performance of circuit court duties. In order that I may present to you some idea of his weightier duties understandingly, it is necessary that I should state in a general way the political situation in the country at that time. The Federal constitution had not been adopted without vigorous, almost savage, opposition by a large minority of the more prominent public men. To use a term coined recently in the political life of this country, there were many bitter-enders among these opponents. Indeed it may well be doubted whether or not the constitution would have been adopted at all if it had been submitted to a popular vote. This condition appealed very strongly to the statesman in Judge Iredell, so to him the constitution must be popularized not only by a wise administration of the laws enacted by congress in pursuance thereof, but also by a constant reiteration in his charges of its fundamental principles. The French Revolution had already broken out, and was to run its bloody course while he was on the bench. The country even at that period was filled with sympathizers with that revolution and a little later with propagandists of its peculiar tenets. President Washington's policy was one of strict neutrality. It became his duty then to enforce the laws of congress which were enacted to secure this neutrality. Congress also found it necessary to impose an excise tax on whiskey. This resulted in a furor of excitement in some sections of the country, culminating in the Whiskey Insurrection of Western Pennsylvania. Iredell presided over the trial of some of the insurgents. With the country in such a state, the duties of the circuit judges at that period were not only arduous in themselves, but also unpopular in some communities. Judge Iredell was peculiarly fitted for these duties at such a time. He had the manners and graces of the gentleman in the truest sense of the term. He was singularly kind-hearted and thoughtful of the feelings and interests of others. In social life he attracted both men and women and enjoyed life and association with his fellows. As a judge, he very soon extorted the admiration of the lawyers who practised before him, and made friends for himself and his cause wherever he held courts.

To Judge Rutledge of South Carolina and him was assigned the duty of holding the spring courts, 1790, of the Southern Circuit. He seems in traveling long distances of his first circuit to have availed himself

of stage-coaches, entering South Carolina in a stage which ran from Fayetteville to some point in that state. He is first heard from at Camden, being then on his way to Columbia at which the court was to sit. He had company all the way from Fayetteville to ten miles of Camden. He found his journey a thousand times more agreeable than he had expected. Of Camden he says, "This really is a very pretty town—a fine, high, healthy situation—and many very handsome houses in it." From Fayetteville to Camden he was astonished at the immense quantity of barren land. He arrived in Columbia on May 11th, spent about a week there, and went on to Charleston where he arrived on May 22nd. Judge Rutledge met him at Columbia, sat with him in the court, but I have no information as to the character of the business done. At Columbia he met most of the principal characters of the country who all behaved to him with extreme kindness. He went from Columbia direct to Charleston in Judge Rutledge's coach and accompanied by him, and was taken as a guest to his house in Charleston. In this delightful home he spent only a few days.

"They have a remarkably fine family of eight children; the eldest married to a Mr. Kinlock, a very agreeable young gentleman of large fortune, whom I saw at Columbia. Next is a son, who I believe is a very promising one indeed, who has been travelling in Europe for near three years and whom his father and mother expect to meet this summer at New York. A younger daughter is with her sister Mrs. Kinlock. The other five are sons now at home receiving education under an excellent private tutor. . . . This city far exceeds my expectations. To-day I had the pleasure of attending a very handsome church, hearing as good a sermon as ever Crutchley preached, and I believe as well delivered; and also a very fine organ which was extremely agreeable."

In Charleston it is probable that nothing more was done than to organize the court, for on May 28th in company with Judge Rutledge he arrived at Savannah. He was very much impressed with the beauty and fineness of the road from Charleston to a plantation of Judge Rutledge's about twenty-five miles from the latter place. The latter part of the journey was made in a canoe paddled by four of Judge Rutledge's hands. He returned probably by the same route to North Carolina expecting that by that time North Carolina would have been included in the Southern Circuit by congress. On his appointment as judge he had removed his family from Edenton, North Carolina, to 63 Wall Street, New York City, where he arrived the latter part of July. He sums up his experiences on his first circuit thus:

"Had the weather not been so hot, my circuit would have been quite a jaunt of pleasure, for I have been everywhere received by everybody with the

utmost kindness and distinction, and by many of the first families in South Carolina with a degree of unaffected politeness which was gratifying indeed."

The August term of the Supreme Court convened in New York, but having no business after Judge Iredell's commission was read, adjourned *sine die*. On July 10th congress passed an act fixing the seat of government at a point on the Potomac where the city of Washington is now located. The government itself was not to remove to the new city until December 1800. Meantime its seat was to be fixed at Philadelphia.

The Southern Circuit was assigned to Judges Rutledge and Iredell for the fall of 1790. The latter commenced his journey south in September, in the public stage, breakfasting at Elizabeth Town, dining at Brunswick, "a pretty little town," and arrived at Princeton some time before dark, fifty-one miles the day's journey. He described Princeton as a very pretty place, though in a high situation, level. At Elizabeth Town, they picked up Gen. Thomas Mifflin, who had been one of the Conway Cabal, which sought the removal of Gen. Washington during the Revolutionary War. He was then President of the Executive Council of Pennsylvania. Judge Iredell found him a very agreeable travelling companion. The next day they arrived at Philadelphia about 2 P. M.

"I have since dined with President Mifflin, our most agreeable fellow traveller, whose wine was so good and importunity so pressing that I could do nothing more since dinner but engage places in the Baltimore stage for Friday." [He left Philadelphia on Friday, September 17 and arrived at Baltimore, about 4 P. M. of Saturday, the 18th.] "I had taken my passage, without knowing there were two stages, in one by mistake [He does not attribute this mistake to the excellence of Gen. Mifflin's wine] by the eastern branch of the Chesapeake, so that we had to cross a ferry of 15 miles, but the wind was favorable, and upon the whole my time passed pleasantly. My company consisted of a Mr. Sharpe, a wine merchant of Philadelphia, a cheerful, clever man, with a modest, engaging young lady of Baltimore, who had been at a boarding school at Philadelphia, and a very decent seafaring man. Baltimore is a prettier place and more regularly built than I had expected to find it. There is a beautiful view from some parts of the town, but the finest country I have yet seen is Pennsylvania."

He attended church services in Baltimore that Sunday and heard a good organ, but a bad preacher. We know nothing further of his trip, until he arrived at Fayetteville, N. C., October 7th. His own horses and vehicle had probably met him at Suffolk, Virginia, and he made the rest of his journey, certainly through North Carolina, with them. He spent a whole day in Fayetteville to rest himself and to have his horses

shod. He kept the court open at Augusta, Georgia, for five days, awaiting the arrival of either Judge Rutledge or Judge Pendleton (the district Judge) to make a quorum to transact business. Judge Rutledge arrived on the 20th, but as they were both back in Charleston on the 23rd, it is supposed that there was little business transacted in Augusta. During his stay at Charleston, he was dined and wined daily, attended a ball, danced with the beautiful Mrs. Kinlock, oldest daughter of Judge Rutledge, and was not in bed until 2 A. M.

When the seat of government was removed from New York to Philadelphia, Judge Iredell found it advisable to remove his family also to that city.

Chief Justice Jay contended that the act of Congress which required the Supreme Court Justices to attend the circuit courts, was unconstitutional. Carson in his history of the Supreme Court, says that John Marshall concurred in this opinion of Jay's and did what he could reasonably to prevent the decision in *Stuart vs. Laird Cranch 703*, which held that the opposite construction had been so long acquiesced in that it had become a rule of law.

At the August Term 1791 of the Court, a difference arose among the judges as to their circuits. The Act of Congress did not specifically fix the method, but seemed to leave it to the judges themselves. Carson thus states the result:

"Contrary to the expectation and wishes of the southern members of the Court, it was determined that the judges should be divided into pairs, and each pair be confined permanently to one circuit. Iredell, it seems, was taken by surprise, and Blair voted under a misconception. The burden of 'leading the life of a Postboy,' in a circuit of vast extent, under great difficulties of travel and peril of life in the sickly seasons, fell heavily upon Iredell, who applied to Congress for relief, but it was not until the Act of April 13th, 1792, providing that the judges should ride by turns the circuit most distant from the seat of government, that the difficulty was adjusted."

The Southern Circuit could be faithfully attended only by riding 1800 or 1900 miles, in perils of waters, and in weariness and painfulness. Judge Blair, however, as a matter of kindness to Judge Iredell rode the Southern Circuit in Spring of 1791, while Iredell with Judge Wilson rode the Middle Circuit. His correspondence covering this period seems to have been lost. While at Annapolis in riding the Middle Circuit, May 1791, he dined with Charles Carroll of Carrollton, whom he calls "the great Carroll." On his way to the Southern Circuit in the fall of that year, he stopped at a house in Virginia, and was put near a room where some young fellows were drinking, gaming,

and swearing all night. When he arrived at Salisbury in this state, he was forced to sleep in a room with five others, and in a bed with a fellow of the wrong sort. On his return trip, on his way from Wilmington to New Bern, his portmanteau was stolen from behind his carriage, and was found soon after on the road, rifled of much fine raiment. He rode the Southern Circuit again in the Spring of 1792. He went by sea to Charleston having in company Senator Butler of South Carolina and that gentleman's daughters. At Charleston he again experienced the delightful hospitality of its best citizens. On April 8th he writes his wife from that place:

"I have bought a pair of horses, and, agreeable to your wishes, not showy,—for they are confoundedly ugly. The price is \$172.00. I may perhaps sell them for plow horses in North Carolina."

While in Charleston, too, he heard an excellent sermon from a Tory parson, who had been banished, and was preaching his first sermon since his return. He seems to have left Charleston for Savannah on Thursday, April 23, driving his new horses, attached to a chair, a two wheeled vehicle with shafts for a single horse, corresponding to our gig.

"Having understood that the horse in the chair was very gentle, and the road being a remarkably fine one, I was going on at my ease, when part of the rein getting under his tail, he ran away, the chair struck against a tree and overset, throwing me out, and one of the wheels went over my leg. I was able to proceed however (as the chair was not broken) about ten miles, but then was so much in pain, I was under the necessity of staying very inconveniently at a house on the road."

He met at Judge Bee's a very respectable, agreeable old gentleman, and, through his means, he stopped at genteel houses the rest of the way, where he lived elegantly and was treated with as much kindness as he could have experienced at Charleston. This old gentleman's name was Brailsford, and he may have been a suitor in the circuit court at a previous term. If so, he was a party to the first cause of note argued in the Supreme Court—*1. U. S. (Curtis) page 4*. Judge Ireland delivered his charge to the grand jury at Savannah on Monday, April 26, and this so pleased that body that they requested him to have it published. In that charge he states in a general but clear way his own conception of the dual form of government arising from the adoption of the Constitution:

"The happiness of our country certainly depends, not only on the preservation of our State governments in their due sphere of authority, but in the

firm union of the whole for the great purposes of the common welfare of the whole, which fatal experience has long since told us cannot be secured without an energetic government to effect it."

He found a great deal of important business. He seems though to have disposed of it in a week, for he set out for Augusta on Sunday May 2nd, with the marshal of the district, and arrived there Tuesday evening. He spent a week there, resting himself and horses very pleasantly at the house of the marshal. He found the town one of the most beautiful in America, and the weather cool enough for blankets at night. He left Augusta on the 11th of May and arrived at Columbia very early the morning of the 14th. At that place he finished the whole business of the court in one day. He says:

"I, everywhere, meet with great distinction and kindness, and have great reason to rejoice that I came southward: for otherwise the judiciary of the United States would have been greatly disgraced."

He, in company with Judge Wilson, rode the Eastern Circuit in the fall of 1792. They left New York by stage, between three and four o'clock Friday morning September 21st, and had not ridden many miles before it was discovered that the trunks of both of the judges had been lost off the stage. The unluck of commencing their journey on Friday did not pursue them far, for on going back for them, the trunks were recovered after two hours delay, an honest boy having picked them up and put them in a place of safety. They arrived at New Haven Saturday night. For the sin of travelling on Sunday they tried to atone by stopping along the road to attend a service. It proved to be a penance really, for the preacher was dull and the congregation not genteel. He was very much impressed with the beauty of the country. The roads, though, in many places were execrable; the worst Maryland roads a bowling green to them. There was much business at Hartford, where they arrived Sunday afternoon. Judge Iredell did not find Hartford so delightful as New Haven and other towns in Connecticut through which he had passed.

On March 23, 1792, Congress had passed an Act providing for the settlement of claims of widows and orphans of soldiers of the Revolution and to regulate the claims of invalid pensioners, and had imposed upon the circuit court certain duties in relation thereto, and subjected the action of the courts to the supervision of the Secretary of War, and finally to the revision of Congress. Some of the judges refused outright to obey Congress, while others temporized by acting as commissioners out of court in carrying out the purposes of the Act. Of

this number was Judge Iredell who at Hartford did all of this work, Judge Wilson positively declining to take any part in it. In less than a year Congress, recognizing the strength of the position assumed by the judges, imposed the duties upon an administrative body. On October 4th he wrote his wife:

"The Invalid business has scarcely allowed one moment's time, and now I am engaged in it by candlelight, though to go at three in the morning. I was at a ball the night before last, and staid until one. I danced a little, but it was not a remarkably agreeable one."

He arrived at Boston Saturday afternoon, October 6. Judge Wilson had returned to New York, so he was to hold the court there with the aid of Judge Lowell, the district judge. He was delighted with Boston, and was met most cordially and hospitably by its principal citizens, though there was a scourge of small-pox there and the town was still much afflicted. The Court was opened October 12, Judge Lowell, district judge, assisting. Judge Iredell's charge to the grand jury "united elegance with extensive knowledge and liberality," so was published in the *Columbian Sentinel*. There was much fatiguing work. One cause alone occupied almost the whole of the time for a week, and court did not adjourn until Saturday night. He was much impressed by the character and acquirements of the men whom he met, and attributed this largely to the public school system.

"I am satisfied that so much regularity and decency do not exist in any other country in the world, as in Connecticut and Massachusetts: and I suppose it is much the same in New Hampshire."

Judge Wilson joined him on the 20th, and they went together to Exeter, N. H. There seems to have been little business in New Hampshire. The only interesting incident of their trip was their visit to Theophilus Parsons, subsequently a great Chief Justice of Massachusetts. Judge Iredell thought him the greatest lawyer he had met in America, and a very agreeable man. On his return to Boston he had the pleasure of dining with the Revolutionary patriots Samuel Adams and John Hancock, the latter then Governor of the state. At Providence, R. I. they found much business to do, but its character does not appear.

At the February term 1793, of the Supreme Court, the cause of *Chisholm vs. Georgia* came on for argument. In this case Judge Iredell delivered the great dissenting opinion, which gave rise to the 11th Amendment. This, however, is beyond the scope of this article. He, with Chief Justice Jay, rode the Middle Circuit in the Spring of 1793.

Judge Wilson, however, sat with him at the April Term of the Circuit Court at Philadelphia, where Ravara, consul of Genoa, was tried for sending threatening letters to Mr. Haywood, the British Minister. The defendant pleaded to the jurisdiction of the court that the Constitution gave exclusive original jurisdiction to the Supreme Court in cases concerning consuls of a foreign power, but the majority of the court, Wilson and Peters, Iredell dissenting, overruled this plea, holding that the term of the Constitution, "original jurisdiction" did not prevent congress from conferring concurrent jurisdiction on the Circuit Courts. The defendant was tried a year later in the same court, convicted, and subsequently pardoned by the President, on condition that he surrendered his commission and exequatur. On May 5th Judge Iredell was in Baltimore after passing most execrable roads. There he met the Attorney General of the state, whom he rather curiously calls the famous anti-Federalist, Luther Martin. He was then, however, in the process of changing his point of view, and did so change it afterwards, as to be called by Jefferson, the Federalist bull dog. He did not find Baltimore as attractive as either Boston or Charleston. He met Genet, the French minister there. He describes him as a very handsome man, with a fine open countenance, and pleasing, unaffected manners. As is well known he is the man who attempted to go over the heads of the administration in an appeal to the people of the country. On May 17, Judge Jay having arrived, they set out for Annapolis, where Judge Iredell delivered the charge to the grand jury. This charge, as with all he delivered, contained a full and complete explication of the dual relations of state and Federal governments. The first of the month they were in Richmond where the great case of *Ware vs. Hilton* was argued before them, the counsel for the plaintiff being Wickham, Ronald, Baker and Starke, while those for the defendant were Henry, Marshall, Innis and Campbell. Judge Iredell said of Henry:

"The great Patrick Henry is to speak today (May 27th). I never was more agreeably disappointed than in my acquaintance with him. I have been much in his company, and his manners are very pleasing, and his mind, I am persuaded, highly liberal."

Henry, commencing Monday, spoke for three consecutive days. On June 7th judgment was rendered for the defendant on his second plea, by Iredell and Griffin, Jay, C. J., dissenting. It being an action by a British creditor against an American debtor, on a bond executed before the war, the defendant pleaded that he had paid the full amount into the public treasury of the state of Virginia, under an Act of

the Legislature which authorized it. Iredell in an elaborate opinion held this, having been done before the Treaty of Peace, was a complete defence to the action. The Supreme Court reversed this, in *Ware vs. Hilton 1 U. S. (Curtis) 164*, Iredell adhering to his original opinion by filing that in the report of the case, p. 201. In this he said:

"The cause has been spoken to at the bar with a degree of ability equal to any occasion. However painfully I may at any time reflect on the inadequacy of my own talents, I shall, as long as I live, remember with pleasure and respect the arguments which I have heard on this case. They have discovered an ingenuity, a depth of investigation and a power of reasoning fully equal to anything I have ever witnessed, and some of them have been adorned with a splendor of eloquence surpassing what I have ever felt before. Fatigue has given way under its influence, and the heart has been warmed, while the understanding has been instructed."

There was another epidemic of yellow fever in Philadelphia the summer of 1793, and Iredell, preferring to endure the ills of malaria to those of small-pox in the winter and yellow fever in the summer in that city, he determined to remove his family to their old home in Edenton. This he did in the winter of 1793.

He rode the Southern Circuit in the Spring of 1794. His charge to the Grand jury at Wake Court House, June 2, is largely filled with a discussion of the legal aspect of French interference with the internal affairs of the United States. He refused to ride the same circuit in the Fall of that year, and probably did no circuit duty.

He rode the Eastern Circuit in the Spring of 1795, opening the court in New York on Monday, April 6th. There was little business and it was disposed of in two days. In Philadelphia he hired a young mulatto named David. "I am to find him in everything and pay him four dollars per month." He remained in New York two weeks after court adjourned, receiving very great civilities. He was in New Haven in time to open court on April 25th. He left that place on May 6th and arrived at Springfield, Massachusetts, seventy miles off on the morning of the 7th after travelling through a delightful country, passing several pretty towns, and enjoying most charming weather.

"I was" [said he] "certainly intended for a New England man. I admire the people and the country, as much as many of our Southern people affect to despise them."

"I found Mrs. Hancock just going to comfort herself for a slavish confinement for many years to a goutified, ill-tempered husband, by marrying a Captain Scott, an old captain in her former husband's employ."

As Vermont had been added to the Eastern Circuit, he went 115 miles from Springfield to Windsor, through a country which he found delightfully romantic. He was there for about a week, being shown many civilities by a small but genteel society. He was forced to return to Boston to get to Portsmouth, N. H., where his next court was to be held, there being no stage across the mountains above. While en route and in Vermont, he had presented to him a little boy, three years old named James Iredell, for himself. No doubt the little fellow's father had been indiscreet during the Revolution while in N. C. and Judge Iredell had protected him. Again in Boston, he experienced the delightful hospitality of the charming society there.

He seems not to have ridden any circuit in the Fall of 1795, but in November went to Richmond in the place of one of the other judges and held the court there. He found a great deal of business there.

"The town was so full that for three or four nights I was obliged to lodge in a room where there were three other beds."

In the Spring of 1796 he rode the Middle Circuit, commencing at Philadelphia, April 11th; but nothing of interest occurred. He was not on duty the fall of that year, but rode the Middle Circuit again in the spring of 1797. He began his courts at Trenton March 29th, where he continued for a week. One case took up much of the time of the court. He says of this case:

"I have but this minute come out of court, having sat there without moving for upwards of eleven hours."

He returned to Philadelphia April 5th and had a tedious waiting for the court to convene. He began hearing cases April 14, and continued for a week, going from there to Annapolis, Baltimore, and Richmond. His charge at Richmond, though unexceptional on its face, provoked a reply from Mr. Cabell, a member of Congress, in which he assailed the character and motives of Judge Iredell. In a calm and temperate explanation, the judge showed that Mr. Cabell was not in his mind at the time the charge was prepared, concluding thus:

"I defy him or any man to show that in the exercise of my judicial character, I have been ever influenced in the slightest degree by any man, either in or out of office, and I assure him I shall be as little influenced by this new mode of attack by a member of congress, as I can be by any other."

For taking any notice of Cabell's attack, his brother-in-law, Gov. Johnston, afterwards administered a mild rebuke to him. He seems

not to have been on circuit duty the fall of 1797. In the Spring of 1798 he rode the Southern Circuit. He set out from his home in Edenton, with his own chair and horses, accompanied by a negro man. He, after many trying adventures in flooded swamps, particularly Conetoe swamp in Edgecombe, found it impossible to cross Tar river at Tarboro, or to proceed in any other direction, so returned to Williamston. The floods receding in a few days, he continued his journey. He writes on May 1st:

"I was overtaken at the house where I staid last night by an itinerant Methodist preacher, who appears to be a very worthy good man, but extremely weak. He, and hundreds more, are employed by the Society, to go constantly about preaching; they receive their traveling expenses and \$64.00 a year to find them in every thing."

There was little business in Charleston. Court was in session only one week, but he experienced again the delightful hospitality of its principal citizens. He commenced his return home, the Savannah court having been abandoned on account of his delay by floods, on May 14th, and, loitering on the way, at the country homes of friends, had not reached Camden four days later.

Judge Iredell held the courts of the Middle Circuit, commencing at Philadelphia, April 11th. At this term the first trial of Fries occurred. The trial began on April 29, and lasted through all its length, 15 days, (*3rd Dallas 515*). The hearing of evidence and arguments of counsel occupied nine days. Judge Iredell wrote that there was an immense number of witnesses, and long arguments, and the Court sat ten hours a day.

"The jury went out at eight o'clock, and at their request we adjourned until ten. Though we were punctual to a moment, the court was so full we could hardly get to our seats. The Jury soon afterwards were announced, and after the clerk put the usual question, the foreman, after a most solemn pause, and in a very affecting tone of voice pronounced him guilty, which evidently had a sensible effect upon every person present."

The Court, however, set aside the verdict and granted a new trial, because one of the jurors, a man named Rhodes, had previous to his selection as juror expressed an opinion that the insurgents, and Fries particularly, were guilty of treason and should be hung. After the prolonged and arduous session at Philadelphia, he found at Richmond, June 4th, an immensity of business. Concluding the business of this court, he had only a few weeks at home when he commenced his return to be with the Supreme Court at Augusta session of that year. At

Richmond, July 31st, he was taken sick and was compelled to return home. He saw no more judicial service of any kind, but died at his home in Edenton, October 30, 1799. No doubt the arduous labors of the Circuits which he had been attending so faithfully, contributed to his early death. Says Mr. Carson:

"Such was James Iredell of North Carolina, the study of whose works cannot fail to awaken admiration of his qualities as a judge, and his virtues as a man."

This mere glance at the labors of the judicial circuit rider of the eighteenth century gives us some conception of their arduous character. The mere fact of riding great distances over the roads of the period and in the stage coaches of the period, exposed to all varieties of climate and weather, must have tried the constitution of the strongest man. Judge Iredell in his whole judicial career never shirked a duty. Instead, he sat in court hearing cases, where it was necessary, eleven hours at a stretch without taking nourishment or relaxation. Though he was a man of independent judgment, and so, quite frequently dissented from the views of his brothers on the bench, he was universally respected for his ability as a judge and his character as a man. To one, however, so even tempered, so kind-hearted, in short, so full of the charity which suffereth long and is kind, there were many compensations for his wearisome and sometimes dangerous journeys and his arduous labor. In Philadelphia he was the welcome guest of President Washington and his wife and later of President John Adams and the British minister. In New England he met and became the friend of Samuel Adams, John Hancock and Theophilus Parsons. In Virginia he came in pleasant association with Henry and Marshall and Wickham. In South Carolina he was received with kindness by Rutledge, Pinckney and Pickens. In his numerous stage coach journeys he met the casual passengers on the footing of a common manhood, whether they were senators, or judges, or statesmen, or wine merchants, or school girls, or seafaring men, or Methodist missionaries who were riding a greater circuit than his at the annual compensation of \$64. And then, too, the warm-hearted hospitality with which he was met everywhere, the dinners given in his honor by cultivated men and women, the balls he attended and the beautiful young women with whom he danced. On one occasion he gives up a dance with one of these charming partners to write his letter to his wife, who through both the labors and the pleasures of his circuits, seemed to be ever present in his mind and heart. He, too, takes all these labors and pleasures in a manly whole-

souled way. He never complains of hardships of the way, not even when he barely escapes drowning in the flooded Conctoe Swamp of Edgecombe County, or when the gentle South Carolina horse deceived him and threw him out of his chair, or when in Salisbury he was compelled to sleep with five other men in the same room, one in bed with him and not an attractive bed fellow, or in Richmond where he was compelled for three days to occupy a bed room with three other men entire strangers to him. Nowhere in his correspondence do we perceive any of the acid which so often appears in the correspondence of his distinguished and wise but self-sufficient and opinionated brother-in-law, Samuel Johnston. He was, indeed, a good man. The whole world now recognizes him as a great man. Only the other day, August 25, 1920, the president of the American Bar Association, in his annual address said that his Richard Dobbs Spaight letter, written in 1787, stated with the utmost precision and strength the subsequently familiar doctrine of *Marbury vs. Madison*. As both good man and great man he belongs to North Carolina, is part of its history, and his fame is our heritage to be cherished and protected.

North Carolina Bibliography 1919-1920

BY MARY B. PALMER

Secretary North Carolina Library Commission

This Bibliography covers the period from November 20, 1919 to November 30, 1920.

The term Bibliography is here used to include the works of all native North Carolinians, regardless of present residence, and the works of writers who although not born in North Carolina, have lived here long enough to become identified with the state. Pamphlets and periodical articles are not included.

NEW PUBLICATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS: c., copyright; il., illustrated; p., pages; v., volume. The capital letters, D. O. Q. S. T., refer to the size of the books.

BASSETT, JOHN SPENCER. Our war with Germany; a history. O.386p. il. Knopf, 1919. \$4.00.

BROOKS, EUGENE CLYDE. Education for democracy; ed. by Lyman P. Powell. (Patriotism through literature.) D.263p. Rand, 1919. \$1.25.

CONNOR, HENRY GROVES. John Archibald Campbell, associate justice of the United States Supreme Court, 1853-1861. O.310p. Houghton, 1920. \$2.25.

DIXON, THOMAS. Man of the people; a drama of Abraham Lincoln. D.155p. Appleton, 1920. \$1.75.

DODD, WILLIAM EDWARD. The cotton kingdom; a chronicle of the Old South. O.161p. Yale Univ. press, 1919. (The chronicles of America series.) Subs. per series of 50 v., \$175.00

DODD, WILLIAM EDWARD. Woodrow Wilson and his work. O.369p. maps. Doubleday, 1920. \$3.00.

DOUGLAS, JOHN JORDAN. The bells; il. by Lieut. John B. Mallard. D.104p. Presbyterian Standard Pub. Co., Charlotte, 1919.

DOWD, JEROME. Democracy in America. 500p. Harlow Publishing Co., Oklahoma City.

- DOZIER, HOWARD DOUGLAS. A history of the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad. O.197p. Houghton, 1920. \$2.00. (Hart, Schaffner & Marx prize essays in economics.)
- EZEKIEL, HERBERT TOBIAS and LICHTENSTEIN, GASTON. comps. World war section of The history of the Jews of Richmond. O.381-443p. il. Richmond, Ezekiel, 1920. \$2.00.
Ezekiel is not a North Carolinian but Lichtenstein is.
- FRENCH, ALFRED LLEWELYN. A farmer's musings. D.102p. il. Edwards and Broughton, Raleigh, 1920.
- HENDERSON, ARCHIBALD. The conquest of the old Southwest; the romantic story of the early pioneers into Virginia, the Carolinas, Tennessee and Kentucky, 1740-1790. D.395p. il. Century, 1920. \$3.00.
- JOHNSON, CLARENCE WALTON. The history of the 321st Infantry with a brief historical sketch of the 81st Division. O. il. R. L. Bryan Co., Columbia, S. C., 1919.
- KIRKLAND, WINIFRED MARGARETTA. The view vertical and other essays. D.270p. Houghton, 1920. \$2.00.
- LICHTENSTEIN, GASTON. See EZEKIEL, H. T.
- PEARSON, THOMAS GILBERT; BRIMLEY, CLEMENT SAMUEL; BRIMLEY, HERBERT HUTCHINSON. Birds of North Carolina (Reports, v. 4). Q.380p. il. North Carolina Geological and economic survey, Chapel Hill, 1919. \$3.50.
- PELL, EDWARD LEIGH. Bringing up John. D.192p. Revell, 1920. \$1.75.
- PELL, EDWARD LEIGH. How can I lead my pupils to Christ? Revell, 1919. \$1.00.
- PELL, EDWARD LEIGH. Our troublesome religious questions. Revell. \$1.50.
- SMITH, CHARLES ALPHONSO. Poe (How to know authors). 346p. Bobbs, 1920. \$2.00.
- SMITH, CHARLES ALPHONSO and McMURRY, MRS. LIDA BROWN. Smith-McMurry language series. 3 bks. D.208;256;270p. bk. 1, 64c; bk. 2, 68c; bk. 3, 70c. 79. Johnson, B. F.

SPRUNT, JAMES. Derelicts: an account of ships lost at sea in general commercial traffic and a brief history of blockade runners stranded along the North Carolina coast, 1861-1865. O.304p. pri. ptd. A. Sprunt and Son, Wilmington, N. C., 1919.

SULLIVAN, WILLARD P. and TUCKER, HARRY. The history of the 105th Regiment of engineers of the Old Hickory (30th) Division. Q. il. 466p. maps. Doran, 1919.

TUCKER, HARRY. See SULLIVAN, WILLARD P.

TURNER, J. KELLY and BRIDGERS, JNO. L. History of Edgecombe County. O.486p. Edwards and Broughton, Raleigh, 1920. \$5.00.

WINSTON, GEORGE TAYLOR. A builder of the New South being the story of the life work of Daniel Augustus Tompkins. O.403p. Doubleday, 1920. \$3.00.

CONTINUATIONS

The most important addition to North Carolina continuations was the Southern Review, published at Asheville. The first number was issued in January, 1920.

MINUTES OF THE TWENTY-FIRST
ANNUAL SESSION

Minutes of the Twenty-first Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina

THURSDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 1ST.

The twenty-first annual session of the Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina was opened at 8 P. M., Thursday, December 1st, 1921, in the auditorium of the Woman's Club, Raleigh, N. C., with President D. H. Hill in the chair. An invocation was pronounced by Dr. Burton Alva Konkle of the Pennsylvania Historical Society. President Hill read the president's address. His subject was "The Confederate Ordnance Department."

Mr. Homer L. Ferguson, President of the Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company, who was to speak on "Shipbuilding During the World War," was prevented from coming on account of a business emergency. Dr. Benjamin Sledd, of Wake Forest College, kindly consented to supply the deficiency in the program. He spoke on "North Carolina Poets." At the conclusion of Dr. Sledd's address there was an informal reception in the Club building for the members of the Association and the members of the North Carolina Folk Lore Society, and their guests.

FRIDAY MORNING, DECEMBER 2ND.

The meeting was called to order in the Hall of the House of Representatives, by President Hill. The following program of exercises was transacted in the order named:

Paper—"North Carolina Bibliography, 1920-1921," by Miss Mary B. Palmer, Secretary of the North Carolina Library Commission.

Paper—"The Historian and the Daily Press," by Gerald W. Johnson, Associate Editor of the *Greensboro Daily News*.

Paper—"An Old Time North Carolina Election," by Miss Louise Irby, Professor of History, North Carolina College for Women.

Reading—Original poem, "Raleigh and Roanoke" by Reverend John Jordan Douglass, Pastor First Presbyterian Church, Wadesboro.

Paper—"The Bread and Butter Element in North Carolina History," by D. D. Carroll, Dean of the School of Commerce, University of North Carolina.

At the conclusion of the exercises the president recognized Miss Lula Briggs, who introduced Mrs. D. H. Blair of Greensboro, Historian

General of the D. A. R. Mrs. Blair presented in the name of the D. A. R. to the Association, two volumes of North Carolina War Service Records 1914-1919.

The president appointed the following committees with instructions to report at the evening session:

Resolutions: T. M. Pittman, F. B. McDowell, and Bennehan Cameron.

Nominations: W. C. Jackson, R. D. W. Connor, and D. T. Smithwick.

The president read the following communication:

The Managers of the Duo-Centennial of the formation of Bertie County, October 2, 1722, invite the State Literary and Historical Association to hold its next annual meeting in Windsor, N. C., during the week including October 2, 1922.

FRANCIS D. WINSTON, CHAIRMAN.

This matter was referred, under the by-laws, to the incoming executive committee.

The president recognized Mrs. H. A. London, who presented to the Association a copy of the Bail Bond of Jefferson Davis.

The matters of increasing the dues, honorary membership, and sustaining members were referred to the incoming executive committee.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON, DECEMBER 2ND.

There was a conference of history teachers in the rooms of the North Carolina Historical Commission. The conference was called to order at 3:30 P. M., December 2nd, by Dean W. C. Jackson, of the North Carolina College for Women. The following were present: R. D. W. Connor, E. C. Brooks, R. G. Adams, W. E. Stone, W. A. Graham, John Jordan Douglass, Miss L. Becker, Miss Louise Irby, T. M. Pittman, Bennehan Cameron, T. P. Harrison, Mrs. E. L. Whitehead, Miss Mary Price, and R. B. House.

There was a general discussion of materials of North Carolina history, the use of these materials, the need of a published source book of North Carolina history. The discussion was concluded by a motion from Mr. Pittman that D. H. Hill, E. C. Brooks, and Miss Mary B. Palmer be appointed a committee to look into the practicability of publishing a source book of North Carolina history. The motion was carried.

It was recorded as the sense of the meeting that similar conferences should be held each year in connection with the annual sessions of the Literary and Historical Association.

FRIDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 2ND.

The meeting was called to order at 8:30 in the auditorium of Meredith College, by the president who introduced Dr. Samuel McChord Crothers, of Cambridge, Mass. Dr. Crothers addressed the Association on "Literary Fashions and Literary Values." At the conclusion of this address the committee on nominations presented the following report, which was unanimously adopted:

OFFICERS OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The Committee report as follows:

President—Dr. W. K. Boyd, Professor of History, Trinity College, Durham.

1st Vice-President—Capt. S. A. Ashe, Historian, Clerk of the Federal Court, Raleigh.

2nd Vice-President—Mrs. D. H. Blair, Retiring Historian, D. A. R., Greensboro.

3rd Vice-President—Rev. John Jordan Douglass, Poet, Presbyterian Minister, Wadesboro.

Secretary-Treasurer—R. B. House, Archivist, Raleigh.

(Signed) D. T. SMITHWICK,
For the Committee.

The Committee on Resolutions offered the following resolutions which were adopted:

Whereas there is now a memorial before Congress for the marking of the scene in Alamance County, of the destruction of the Tory force organized at Hillsboro under Colonel John Pyle—an engagement that exerted a very marked influence on the campaign then in progress,

Resolved, therefore, that the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina respectfully ask our Senators and Representatives in Congress to favor and to further this patriotic step in any way within their power.

Resolved, that the best interests of society require that our youth shall be correctly informed concerning the history of our country. To that end we recommend that those in authority place such histories in our schools as shall be free from sectionalism and just to every part of our country.

THOMAS M. PITTMAN,
F. B. MCDOWELL,
BENNEHAN CAMERON.
Committee.

ADDRESSES

Confederate Ordnance Department

BY D. H. HILL

President of the State Literary and Historical Association

It has often been asserted that the Southern people are lacking in inventive genius and organizing skill. If there were no other facts—and there are many—to disprove this assertion, the record of the Ordnance Department of the Confederate States goes far to remove such an impression.

The South in its zeal to contend for what it considered as constitutional rights went to war, as President Davis bluntly says “without counting the cost.” Its five million white people arrayed themselves against the twenty million of the North. Its agricultural population pitted itself against a diversified manufacturing people with access at home and abroad to every sort of raw and manufactured material. Its laborers skilled mainly in farming had to vie with artisans who had served their apprenticeship in almost every modern trade. Its wealth, resting largely on cotton and tobacco, the value of which dwindled as soon as the northern navy cut these products off from markets, was at that period vastly inferior to that of the North.

In addition to these insuperable disadvantages, its newly set up and experimental government had to contend against an established government with every department already functioning with a skill born of experience, with a far-reaching credit, with custom duties bringing in large revenues, with consular agents to collect information about commodities and to mould sentiment in every considerable foreign port, with an excellent navy to protect its mercantile vessels and blockade Confederate harbors, and with a regular army large enough to set a high standard of efficiency for its volunteers.

Truly it took sublime confidence in its cause, stout hearts, and a willingness to suffer, for the South to appeal to arms under these circumstances, circumstances not unknown to thoughtful Southerners.

The first opportunity—and perhaps the most favorable opportunity, for Confederate success came just after the paralyzing Southern victory at First Manassas. Could the Confederate army shortly after that battle have pressed into the North before the Democrats, Bell, and

Everett men had become wedded to the Union cause, before the business men of the North had ceased to fret over the loss of Southern trade, before mammoth mercantile and mechanic corporations had taken up war fabrication, before the Union navy had been increased by purchases and conversions, before the enormous masses of raw troops that were pouring into Washington to take the places of the three months volunteers had been moulded into a grand army by the organizing genius of McClellan, then most likely another signal victory on its own soil would have induced the North to follow Greeley's advice and let the erring sisters "depart in peace."

Ropes, in many ways the ablest Northern writer on the war, thus presents his views on this opportunity:

"It is altogether probable that the Confederate army was at that time decidedly the superior of its antagonist in many important respects. It had the prestige of victory. It had the self-confidence and audacity which the unfortunate panic which overtook their foes after the battle of Manassas was over, could hardly fail to produce in the minds of the victors. It trusted its generals fully,—it believed in them enthusiastically. It was the only army in the country on either side that had won a considerable battle. It was the envy and pride of the Confederate soldier, . . . and while we do not for a moment suppose that Johnston's army was equal to either of the Confederate armies of Antietam or Gettysburg in point of efficiency, yet it would have considerable advantages over any troops which McClellan could have opposed to it as early as October, 1861. They must have been for the most part raw and undisciplined, unacquainted with their brigade and divisional commanders, and necessarily affected unfavorably to a greater or less extent by the fact of Bull Run having been a bad defeat for the Union forces. We may fairly say, therefore, that an invasion of the North undertaken, in October, 1861, held out a very fair promise of a successful result for the Confederate arms."

Was the South unaware of this opportunity? Not at all. Its three ranking officers at Manassas—Johnston, Beauregard, and G. W. Smith,—in a conference that they sought with Mr. Davis urged this very step. The Confederate President makes it plain that he too was unwilling to wage the war "on a purely defensive system," but he could not furnish the 20,000 or 30,000 additional troops stated by the three generals to be necessary for such an invasion. Hence the opportunity so rich in promise was lost.

This decision then raises another question. Was the South so little in earnest that, after setting up a government of its own, it was unwilling to furnish soldiers to fight for that government? Not so by any means. It may surprise you to know that at that very time the Con-

federate Secretary of War was declining to accept thousands of volunteers. You may feel inclined, on hearing this, to ask "Was he a traitor or an ignoramus?" Neither. On August 31, 1861, Mr. Walker, the first Secretary of War, makes plain the reasons for this amazing fact. He says:

"We have thousands of good and true men prepared for the field in camps of instruction, *yet they are without arms*. We could bring into the field and maintain there with ease 500,000 men were arms and munitions sufficiently abundant."

In December, 1861 Judah P. Benjamin, who succeeded Walker, writes to Mr. Davis as follows:

"On (my) first entering on the duties of the Department (in September 1861) the tenders of troops were very large, and it was not at all unusual for me to refuse offers of 5,000 men per day."

Thus it appears that an inability to arm its eager volunteers precluded the South from seizing its first clearly discerned opportunity of achieving its goal. It was to supply these arms, of course, that the Ordnance Department about which I am to speak to you, was created.

In spite of the oft-repeated and hard-to-die misrepresentation that Secretary Floyd of Buchanan's cabinet, in anticipation of war, stocked the armories of the Southern states with small arms, the South's proportion of national arms was small. The official report of the Chief of Ordnance of the United States discloses the fact that in January, 1860, there were in government armories 610,262 small-arms of diverse patterns and varying degrees of inefficiency. Of these 410,671 were distributed in the North, 163,806 in the South, and 33,734 in the divided state of Missouri. These 163,806 muskets, mostly smooth-bores that had been only in part altered from flint and steel to percussion locks, were with the exception of a few state-owned, antiquated guns, the only small arms available for battle. So severe were the straits for arms that several of the states bought fowling-pieces and sporting rifles for their infantry and made spears for their cavalry.

In artillery there was the same destitution. So far as can be made out from the incomplete reports, there were in 1861 only 716 heavy guns to defend 3000 miles of sea-coast and to protect the banks of almost a countless number of navigable rivers. Moreover, 192 of these guns were in two forts and most of them were of obsolete types. Some of them were decrepit survivors of the War of 1812. A disgusted officer described one of them as "venerable and picturesque in appearance."

The caliber of Lee's guns was so diverse that the Ordnance Department was driven almost to desperation to supply so many types of ammunition.

For the third arm, cavalry, which was the natural service for Southerners inasmuch as they were bred to the saddle, there were not only no arms, but saddles, bridles, blankets, and even horse-shoes were almost unobtainable. The brilliant service of Stuart's small band of troopers at First Manassas is indicative of what might have been achieved if the hundreds of cavalry regiments that were offered could have joined their dash to the infantry.

As scant as were arms, the supply of ammunition and soldierly equipage was even more disturbing. At the opening of hostilities there were, outside of the amount seized at Norfolk, only 60,000 pounds of powder in the Confederacy. Of lead there was none. The stock of percussion caps did not exceed a quarter of a million. Secretary Walker's answer to pointed interrogations of the Confederate Congress startled desperately the complacent propounders, for it disclosed that before the captures at Manassas the remaining war resources of the Confederacy on August 12, 1861, were 3,500 flintlock rifles, 200,000 pounds of powder, 240 tons of saltpeter, 300 tons of sulphur, and one contract for lead. The desperate condition may be summed as follows: The Government possessed none of the implements of war; second, it had no machinery for making these implements; third, it had no raw material to feed machines for making the implements. The situation was more graphically described than I can do it in conventional terms by one of the officers when he said, "We are in a h— of a fix."

I wish time permitted a full description of the men who managed to supply, out of nothing but indomitable wills, the material for carrying on a four year war. Josiah Gorgas, a graduate of West Point, then just resigned from the Ordnance Department of the United States Army, was placed at the head of this apparently forlorn hope. Gorgas was a student of science and of men. He possessed an original and constructive mind, and deserved General Joseph E. Johnston's tribute: "Gorgas created the Ordnance Department out of nothing." In passing it is illustrative of American life to note that the name and fame of this officer in the Confederate Army has been perpetuated into our generation by the name and fame of an equally brilliant son in the United States army, Surgeon-General W. C. Gorgas, whose success in the control of yellow fever and in making our Canal Zone habitable has elicited the admiration of the world.

Gorgas gathered around him a notable group of officers. These included such gifted minds as those of I. M. St. John, Chief of the Bureau

of Mines and Niter; Dr. John W. Mallet, Superintendent of Laboratories, and afterwards widely known as a versatile and learned chemist in the Universities of Texas and Virginia; Colonel George W. Rains, in charge of powder manufacture and powder plants, a brother of General Gabriel J. Rains, the inventor of the torpedo, both brothers being natives of this state and graduates of West Point; Colonel Richard Morton, and others. John Mercer Brooke, the Chief Ordnance officer of the Navy, the designer of the Merrimac, and the inventor of the famous Brooke gun, worked in conjunction with this group.

There was dire need of such men, and it is impossible to understand the heroism of the Confederate struggle unless we comprehend the patience, the foresight, the ingenuity, the scientific attainments of these resolute men behind the guns. Gorgas thus describes the task assigned him in April, 1861:

"Within the limits of the Confederate States there were no arsenals at which any of the material of war was constructed. No arsenal except that at Fayetteville, North Carolina, had a single machine above a foot-lathe. Such arsenals as there were had been used only as depots. All the work of preparation of material had been carried on at the North; not an arm, not a gun, not a gun-carriage, and except during the Mexican War, scarcely a round of ammunition had for fifty years been prepared in the Confederate States. There were consequently no workmen, or very few of them, skilled in these arts. No powder, save perhaps for blasting, had been made in the South; there was no saltpetre in store at any Southern point; it was stored wholly at the North. There was no lead nor any mines of it except on the Northern limits of the Confederacy in Virginia and the situation of that made its product precarious. Only one cannon foundry existed—at Richmond. Copper, so necessary for field artillery and for percussion caps, was just being produced in East Tennessee. There was no rolling mill for bar iron south of Richmond; and but few blast furnaces and these small, and with trifling exceptions in the border states of Virginia and Tennessee."

The first necessity after arms was, of course, powder. The three ingredients—charcoal, sulphur, saltpeter or niter—as well as the mills for working them up had to be provided. The charcoal was readily obtained from ordinary pits. An adequate supply of sulphur for early operations was secured from the sugar refiners of the far South, and subsequently some was extracted from iron pyrites. The scarcity of saltpeter or niter was a most serious difficulty. Niter-bearing caves were sought in all the region traversed by the Appalachian mountains. Private production was stimulated by generous contracts and by offers of governmental aid in financing new plants. A refinery for the crude material was established at Nashville, Tennessee. As the war advanced,

it became evident that, owing to difficulties arising from conscription, inadequate transportation, and lack of technical skill, the Government would have to undertake the production not only of ordnance but of ordnance material, even to the mining of ores.

"In addition, [says Secretary Benjamin] to the articles usually manufactured in a military laboratory, it has become necessary to manufacture for the use of the war laboratories, articles usually found in the shops. Sulphuric acid, nitric acid, different metallic salts, and a variety of chemicals can be obtained for the use of the laboratories only by our manufacturing them."

Accordingly a Bureau of Niter and Mining, with Colonel I. M. St. John as chief, was established. This industrious officer divided the niter-bearing areas into districts with an officer in charge of each district. When the Bureau was formed on April 11, 1862, the total production of niter in the Confederacy did not reach 500 pounds a day. Within three months after its establishment, the Bureau had sixteen niter caves, employing 387 men, in operation. By July 30, it had collected and refined 60,338 pounds of niter, taken over and enlarged two lead mines, and erected an admirable smelting-work at Petersburg, Virginia. From this humble beginning the Bureau made rapid strides in production. The reports at the close of 1864 show a yearly production from government and supervised caves of 1,735,531 pounds of niter and an importation of 1,720,072—a total of 3,455,603 pounds. Of this amount 238,907 pounds were produced in North Carolina at a cost of \$163,983.68. This supply came from scraping nitrified soil from under homes, tobacco-barns, smoke-houses, barns, and hen-houses. To provide a reserve supply thirteen nitrieries were established by St. John at convenient places. The beds in these require time for ripening and the war closed before any niter was made from them, but Colonel St. John states that 2,800,000 cubic feet of earth had been collected and was in various stages of nitrification.

In spite of the fact that in 1864 ten of the Virginia and all of the Georgia iron furnaces and the principal copper mines were captured or destroyed by the Federals, and that in the last quarter of 1864 there were no returns from Alabama, South Carolina, and Tennessee, the Bureau's report for the same two years as above shows that it supplied the munition workers with 27,189 tons of iron, 823,349 pounds of copper, and 4,795,331 pounds of lead, and that the sulphuric acid chambers of its chemical works at Charlotte, North Carolina, were turning out an average yield of from 4,000 to 5,000 pounds a month.

Coincident with its development of the Niter Bureau, the Ordnance Department pressed vigorously the manufacture of powder at governmental and at private mills, and the development of armories and arsenals for making cannon, small arms, ammunition, and all military equipment. Under the superintendence of Colonel George W. Rains, (a most accomplished ordnance officer,) the Department built at Augusta, Georgia, a central powder mill that Gorgas describes as "far superior to any in the United States and unsurpassed by any across the ocean." This establishment with its twelve grinders had a daily capacity of 5,000 pounds. The Richmond mill, starting later than the others, was designed to produce daily about 1,500 pounds. The mill at Selma, Alabama, made up 500 pounds a day. The State of North Carolina aided Waterhouse & Bowes to erect near Raleigh a mill with a daily yield of 600 pounds. The state was furnished with niter and sulphur by the Confederate Government and sold the entire production of powder to the Ordnance officers. These four mills furnished, therefore, 7,600 pounds each day. The Confederate Navy owned an excellent mill at Columbia, South Carolina. There were a few private mills—one at Charlotte, North Carolina, and for a time one at New Orleans, and a few state-aided mills. With the output from these mills supplemented by the cargoes which came through the blockade, there was always less anxiety about powder than there was about lead and copper.

After the capture of the Ducktown copper mines and the Wytheville lead mines the Ordnance Department was desperately straightened to keep the munitions plants in copper and lead. From the beginning of the war the country and the battlefields had been gleaned for lead. The city of Charleston, by the sacrifice of its window-weights, water pipes, and odds and ends, contributed 200,000 pounds. Mobile, digging up the pipes of a discarded water system, furnished nearly the same amount. The State Ordnance office in Raleigh, which accepted only such as was offered and tried not to compete with the regular Bureau officers, bought 27,885 thousand pounds of scrap lead in amounts varying from 5 to 800 pounds. The state also transferred to the Ordnance Bureau 36,017 pounds from importations through the blockade-runner, the *Advance*.

After the Confederate calamities on the Mississippi River, the three main sources of what Gorgas calls "this precious metal" were all in jeopardy: first, the supply of scrap lead was constantly diminishing; second, the importations through the blockade were seriously imperilled by the loss of Southern ports; third, the Wytheville mines, the only largely productive ones, were constantly menaced by the enlarged operations of the Federal armies.

In his annual report for the year closing September 30, 1864, Gorgas, after calling attention to the fact that his reserve of lead had been exhausted by the fierce fighting from Chancellorsville through Cold Harbor, was impelled to warn the Secretary of War that he "felt more uneasiness on this point than on all others."

The Ordnance Department was always confronted, too, with a shortage of copper, a metal almost as necessary to munition shops as lead. The supply was fairly sufficient as long as the Ducktown mines were held by the Confederates and as the ever-useful blockade runners could make Southern ports. When, however, the Tennessee mines passed into Union hands and the activity of the blockade traffic was checked, the ordnance officers had to resort to every sort of shift to secure copper or find substitutes for it. As the pressure for copper became greater, cities gave their clocks, churches their bells, and women stripped their homes of brass kettles, andirons, and candle-sticks. The country was searched with inquisitive eyes and forceful hands for the copper worms of turpentine and whiskey distilleries. The turpentine distillers were paid for their material; that of the whiskey-makers was confiscated as part of an illegal traffic. The chief of the Ordnance Bureau, in his December 31, 1864, report points out the scarcity of copper and steel. He says:

"These articles must be obtained chiefly from abroad, and the stock on hand is very small. The Bureau is constantly making substitutes of iron in every possible way to diminish the consumption and eke out the supply."

Iron was never so scarce as lead and copper. Although the Southern people had never been widely drawn to mining, there were some well-equipped mines and furnaces. Fortunately, this ore smelted with wood, had an unusually high tensile strength. This toughness of texture offset in a measure the defects which arose from the inexperience of the early gun-makers, but until skill had been attained frequent burstings caused a "Richmond gun" to be viewed with apprehension. As the manufacture of cannon and projectiles increased, it became necessary to stimulate iron production in Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia, and Alabama.

"To this end contracts were made with iron-masters in these states on liberal terms and advances of money to be refunded in products. These contracts were difficult to arrange, as so much had to be done for the contractor. He must have details from the army and the privilege of transporting provisions and other supplies over the railroads. Then, too, the question of the currency was always recurring."

Munition plants as well as all private industries had to rely largely on detailed soldiers or retained conscripts for all skilled or even trainable workmen. Most of the men above conscript age, even if they could have acquired skill at their ages, were required on the farms. Negroes could be relied on for the rough work, and disabled soldiers and women for the clerical duties, but the army had to furnish the competent artisans. These men were, of course, subject to instant recall. Whenever a Federal raid or a general advance into the neighborhood of a mine or furnace impended, or whenever the Confederate armies were gathering for serious fray, all the detailed men and conscripts in reach would have to drop spades and hammers and take up muskets. Production, of course, declined in proportion to the duration of their withdrawal. As the Confederate armies dwindled from wounds and deaths, the demand for soldiers stripped the shops and arsenals of most of their vigorous workmen. During the last twelve months of the contest practically only superintendents, foremen, and a few indispensable mechanics in each plant were left to stagger forward with the burden as best they could. The managers had to employ boys under eighteen and such men over forty-five as could be spared from some farm.

By overcoming innumerable difficulties the Ordnance Bureau was delivering some arms and munitions from eight arsenals and four supply depots before the close of the first trying year of the war. Owing to the vicissitudes of war, there were other plants added and some discontinued. Those west of the Mississippi were practically closed after the capture of New Orleans. The plant at Nashville was removed to Atlanta, and then, on Sherman's approach, to Columbus. The one at Mount Vernon, Alabama, was transferred to Selma. This arsenal was later turned over to the Confederate navy and there Commander Brooke "made many of his formidable banded and rifled guns." The strain-resisting castings made from the tough iron of this section gave to the completed batteries of field artillery from this arsenal a special value. The shops at the Montgomery arsenal were mainly used for the repair of small arms and for the manufacture of leathern articles. A factory for harness for artillery horses was set up at Clarksville, Virginia. The arsenal at Charleston was enlarged in order that it might do varied repair work. The Bureau located a combination plant, consisting of foundry, shops, and ordnance laboratory, at Salisbury, North Carolina. The private arsenal at Asheville, after being taken over by the Government, was moved to Columbia for greater security.

The same vexations and expense that prevailed in preparing and distributing artillery projectiles for guns of widely different calibers, existed in the small arm ammunition. The Confederate infantry, in the first months of war, bore into battle as motley an aggregation of arms as ever distressed an ordnance train. Not infrequently a regiment that had exhausted its ammunition could not borrow from a neighboring regiment, nor be supplied from the nearest wagons, because of a difference in the calibration of arms.

As early as circumstances would permit, the War Department took steps to obviate this harassment and at the same time to effect an improvement in the quality of the ammunition, which in some of the arsenals had been very unsatisfactory. The first step was to appoint Major J. W. Mallet, an accomplished chemist, superintendent of all the laboratories. By a rigid system of supervision which secured more uniformity of processes, Mallet "produced marked improvement in the ammunition fabricated, in spite of deficient labor and materials." The second step was to begin two central plants at Macon, Georgia; one under Colonel Burton, to manufacture standard rifles; the other, under Colonel Mallet, to produce standard ammunition. The machinery for both the armory, which was to have a capacity of 10,000 arms a month, and for the arsenal, was bought in Europe and was in Nassau and Bermuda when the war ended. A third step was to set up factories in Europe under private names and import the output.

The first two armories to begin the making of small arms were those that grew out of the arsenals at Fayetteville, North Carolina, and at Richmond. Both began operations with seized machinery. When the United States Armory at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, was set on fire by the evacuating Federal troops, the gun-making machinery was saved by the Virginia soldiers, who entered on the heels of the retiring Unionists. All the machinery used for making the Mississippi rifles (caliber 54) was sent to Fayetteville where there was a small, but well appointed arsenal, with a newly-installed steam service. The other machinery was transferred to Richmond.

After the installation of its rifle-making machinery, the Fayetteville armory's production, when running full-handed, was 10,000 rifles a year; it rarely ran to its capacity. The Richmond arsenal and armory, working in conjunction with the Tredegar Iron Works and with private contractors, grew into an establishment of very large proportions. While its capacity output of small-arms was reckoned at only 25,000 a year, it contributed a wide variety of military necessities. The small arsenal at Columbia, using the machinery removed from Asheville, was counted

on for 4,000 rifles each year. The armories at Tallahassee, Alabama, and at Athens, Georgia, had a productive power respectively of 6,000 carbines and 10,000 rifles. By the close of 1864 these five armories then could, when provided with laborers, make up 55,000 rifles a year.

The duties of the Ordnance Department included the importation as well as manufacture of war material, but time will not permit any discussion of the invaluable foreign blockade-running operations of the Department. Suffice it to say that loans, based on cotton, enabled the department to supply the Confederacy by September 30, 1863, 113,504 excellent small arms. The number was subsequently increased, including state importations, to 185,000. This number, to which must be added the 63,000 produced to that date, and the 150,000 captured, brings the total Confederate supply of small arms to 423,000. This is the entire supply with which the Confederates fought for four years. To Nov. 16, 1863, 677 pieces of field artillery, with their carriages, caissons, harness, etc., were bought and made. The same official report (Official Records IV, 2,958) shows that the following articles were either repaired, purchased, or fabricated: 209,910 rounds of ammunition for heavy guns; 446,719 for field artillery; 37,553,654 rounds of small-arm ammunition; 46,972,599 musket caps; 1,457,057 pounds of powder; 226,450 haversacks; 163,522 cartridge-boxes; 85,291 canteens, and a long array of other articles.

A world of ingenuity was lavished on substitutes for unprocurable material as well as on labor-saving and time-saving devices. When copper, with which Brooke and other ordnance scientists banded their rifled guns, could no longer be secured, an excellent substitute was found in tough iron bands. When the supply of mercury failed the chemists found that a mixture of chlorate of potash and sulphuret of antimony made just as good musket-caps as fulminate of mercury. Cloth stitched into several folds and coated with shellac took the place of leather in belts, bridle-reins, saddle-skirts, haversacks, etc. Rains introduced a method of making powder that vastly improved that article. Captain R. S. Williams invented a multiple firing gun. The Department devised ways of using Reed's process for improving rifled shells, for developing a shell with polygonal cavities, for the better timing of fuses, for the fabrication from cotton cloth of a rain-proof material for coats, blankets, etc. When the linseed oil for this process became scarce, a fishery for making the oil was established at the mouth of the Cape Fear River.

When we recall these achievements and others that might be mentioned, we feel that we can join Gorgas in his tribute to his fellow workers:

"We began in April, 1861, without an arsenal, laboratory or powder mill of any capacity, and with no foundry or rolling mill except at Richmond, and before the close of 1863, in a little over two years, we had built up, during all the harassments of war, holding our own in the field definitely and successfully against a powerful and determined enemy. Crippled as we were by a depreciated currency; throttled with a blockade that deprived us of nearly all means of getting material or workmen; obliged to send almost every able-bodied man to the field; unable to use the slave labor with which we were abundantly supplied, except in the most unskilled departments of production; hampered by want of transportation even of the commonest supplies of food; with no stock on hand even of the articles such as steel, copper, lead, iron, leather, which we must have to build up our establishments; and in spite of these deficiencies we persevered at home as determinedly as our troops did in the field against a more tangible opposition, and in a little over two years created almost literally out of the ground foundries and rolling mills (at Selma, Richmond, Atlanta, and Macon), smelting works (at Petersburg), chemical works (at Charlotte), a powder mill far superior to any in the United States and unsurpassed by any across the ocean, and a chain of arsenals, armories, and laboratories equal in their capacity and their improved appointments to the best of those in the United States, stretching link by link from Virginia to Alabama. Our people are justly proud of the valor and constancy of the troops who bore their banners bravely in front of the enemy, but they will also reflect that these creations of skill and labor were the monuments which represented the patience, industry, and perseverance of devoted and patriotic citizens."

An Ode

BY BENJAMIN SLEDD

[Read on Armistice Day, 1921, at the dedication of the Memorial to Wake Forest students fallen in the Great War¹]

America, on this proud day,
Thy loyal children, we
With lips and heart would pay
Tribute of love and homage unto thee.

Peace, Peace! with victory
Of Honour and of Right
Over old Wrong and Tyranny
New-risen in this primal, brutal night.

Peace, peace, with more than victory!
For now, America, at last
Those years of difference they are past:
Peace between thee
And thine own kin beyond the sea;
Brothers, henceforth are we
Thrice strong with strength of unity;
Fearless to reach a brother hand
To raise the fallen in whatsoever land,
To right the wrong wherever wrong may be.

America, on this proud day,
While many a land, at last made free
From time-long tyranny,
With lips and heart shall pay
Tribute of homage unto thee,—
While on the waiting Mother's breast
Her Unknown Soldier Dead is laid to rest,—
Here, where they walked in life, we come to raise
A votive stone and speak the praise
Of our own dead. Their all they gave
The cause of all, when all seemed lost, to save.
Was it too great, the price they paid?

(1) Doctor Sledd read this poem at the conclusion of his interesting lecture on North Carolina poets.—Ed.

What price had been too great?—
Once to have freed all Europe from the weight
Of nightmare years of armed hate;
Forever to have laid
The spectre of the Red Right Hand
And Blazing Brand,
Still overshadowing sea and land:
To have made once more the patriot's word
In councils of the people heard;
And given the world a peace that saith
Nation with nation shall keep faith.

And he, our Chieftain and our guide,
Lying stricken today by the Potomac side,
His hour of triumph still denied;
Shall we the tardy years await
To show all honor to the man,
So sternly just, so singly great,
So brave to bear the hand of Fate?
And shall it fail, the goodliest plan
That patient-striving wisdom can?
Or shall it be the dawning's tremulous ray
Broadening at last into the perfect day
Of peace on earth, goodwill to men?

Peace, peace again!
Not builded for To-day upon the sand
But reared with patience, toil and pain;
Broad-based, deep-founded, fitted to withstand
To-morrow's stress and strain,
When blow the winds and falls the rain:
Peace, peace, by land and sea,
With more than Peace to be!

North Carolina Bibliography, (1920-1921)

BY MARY B. PALMER

Secretary North Carolina Library Commission

This Bibliography covers the period from November 20, 1920 to November 1, 1921.

The term Bibliography is here used to include the works of all native North Carolinians, regardless of present residence, and the works of writers who, although not born in North Carolina, have lived here long enough to become identified with the state. Pamphlets, continuations, and periodical articles are not included.

NEW PUBLICATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS: c., copyright; il., illustrated; p., pages; v., volume. The capital letters, D. O. Q. S. T. F., refer to the size of the books.

BACON, WILLIAM JAMES, ed. History of the Fifty-fifth field artillery brigade. 1917, 1918, 1919. F.335p. il. The author, Goodbar bldg., Memphis, Tenn., 1920. \$6.00.

The history of the 55th F. A. brigade proper as used in this volume was prepared by Walter Chandler; the 105th Ammunition train by W. W. Lewis; the 113th F. A. by Arthur L. Fletcher.

BASSETT, JOHN SPENCER. Short history of the United States, 1492-1920. O.942p. il. Macmillan, 1921. \$3.90.

BOST, MRS. EMMA, (INGOLD). Songs in many keys. O.80p. il. The author, 740 10th Ave., Hickory, N. C., 1920. \$1.25.

BROOKS, EUGENE CLYDE and CARMICHAEL, W. D. North Carolina. O.32p. il. Rand, 1921. 65c.

GIBSON, JULIA AMANDA and MATHEWS, MAUD CRAIG. Lineage and tradition of the family of John Springs III, ed. by and cover and title designed by Maude Craig Mathews. O.418p. Foote and Davies Co., Atlanta, 1921.

GILBERT, CHESTER GARFIELD, and POGUE, J. E. America's power resources; the economic significance of coal, oil and water-power. D.326p. il. Century, 1921. \$2.50.

Mr. Pogue is a North Carolinian.

- HARPER, WILLIAM ALLEN. Reconstructing the church; an examination of the problems of the times from the standpoint of a layman of the church: introd. by F. Marion Lawrence. D.188p. Revell, 1920. \$1.25.
- HULSE, E. G. History of the great world war . . . illustrated with photographic reproductions of the men from Granville county who took part in this unparalleled conflict. Q.214p. il. Oxford Orphanage, Oxford, N. C., 1920.
- JONES, GILMER ANDREW. Jones quizzer, consisting of North Carolina Supreme Court questions and answers from September term, 1898 to August term, 1920. 2d ed. O.280p. The author, Franklin, N. C., 1921. \$5.00.
- KIRKLAND, WINIFRED MARGARETTA. Christmas shrine; or, the makers of peace. S.30p. Womans Press, 1920. 85c.
- KOCH, FREDERICK HENRY. Raleigh, the Shepherd of the Ocean, designed to commemorate the tercentenary of the execution of Sir Walter Raleigh, with a foreword by Edwin Greenlaw. O.95p. il. Raleigh Woman's Club, Raleigh, N. C., 1920. \$2.50.
- MOREHEAD, JOHN MOTLEY. The Morehead family of North Carolina and Virginia. F.147p. il. Priv. printed DeVinne Press, 1921.
- NORTH CAROLINA SOROSIS. A pageant of the lower Cape Fear written in collaboration by citizens of Wilmington in North Carolina, with the supervision of Frederick Henry Koch. O.130p. il. Wilmington Printing Company, Wilmington, N. C., 1921. \$2.50.
- PELL, EDWARD LEIGH. What did Jesus really teach about prayer? D.203p. il. Revell, 1921. \$1.50.
- PRICE, NATALIE WHITTED. Sketches in lyric prose and verse. O.80p. bds. Seymour, 1920. \$2.00.
- SAUNDERS, WILLIAM O. Concept of life and other Saunders editorials: being some editorials and epigrams as written from time to time by W. O. Saunders himself and now gathered into a book and printed in the shop of the Independent. O.68p. The author, Elizabeth City, N. C., 1921. 60c.
- SCHERER, JAMES AUGUSTIN BROWN. Tree of light. D.125p. il. Crowell, 1921. \$1.35.
- SMITH, CHARLES ALPHONSO. O. Henry. O.40p. Martin and Hoyt Co., Atlanta, 1921. 40c.

- SMITH, HENRY LOUIS. Your biggest job, school or business: some words of counsel for red-blooded young Americans who are getting tired of school. D.79p. Appleton, 1920. \$1.00.
- STEPHENSON, GILBERT T. The business relation between God and man a trusteeship. D.112p. Sunday School Board, Southern Baptist Convention, 1921.
- TURNER, JOSEPH KELLY and BRIDGERS, JOHN LUTHER. History of Edgecombe county, North Carolina. O.486p. il. The author, Rocky Mount, N. C., 1920. \$5.00.
- WILLIAMS, CHARLES BURGESS and HILL, DANIEL HARVEY. Corn book for young folk. D.250p. il. Ginn, 1920. \$1.20.

The Historian and the Daily Press

BY GERALD W. JOHNSON

Associate Editor of the Greensboro Daily News

What is a historian? Webster answers, "A writer of history; a chronicler; an annalist." If that definition were exhaustive, I should have no subject; for the chronicling of events, the notation of dates and characters in the drama of the world, is but the routine of my own craft. The newspaper is the greatest of annalists, and if the historian were no more, then historian and daily press would be one. But if history is more than merely the repository of facts, even of carefully adjusted and correlated facts, the historian must be more than a sublimated newspaper reporter. The technical definition is not exhaustive.

Nor is the popular definition appreciably more encouraging. It varies with the populace, of course, but in North Carolina I do not believe that I am satirizing it in giving it utterance as follows: a man whose memory is a storehouse of irrelevant information, a man who can tell you the date of the battle of Fontenoy, or when Richard Dobbs Spaight died, but whose interest in the activities of the human race includes none more recent than those of, say, the year 1870; except, perhaps, that the more active and inquiring minds among them may have brought their catalogue of exciting events down as far as November 11, 1918. In short, the popular conception of a historian is that of a man who deals definitely, and exclusively, with the past. Popular definitions are rarely, if ever, without some foundation in fact; I leave it to you to determine how much basis of fact there is in this one.

But it is not exhaustive. If it were, I should still have no subject, for the newspaper's is the most ephemeral existence imaginable. Nothing is deader than yesterday's newspaper. Nothing is more remote than its relation to things that pertain exclusively to the past. Its pre-occupation is with today; and until the historian projects himself and his science into today's affairs, his professional relation to the daily press is non-existent.

Not that the daily press has any objection to historical material in itself. The freshness of a news story, generally speaking, constitutes its chief newspaper value. But that is not its only value; and when its other qualifications are sufficiently high, age, contrary to the general impression, will not bar it. It used to be said that President Roosevelt

could, and did, restate the Ten Commandments in such novel and striking form that every newspaper in the country printed them. But that was Roosevelt, not the Decalogue. Mr. W. T. Bost once wrote a story of a congressional convention that had occurred, not the previous day, but four years before; and the story was so good that the Greensboro Daily News printed it on the front page. The value of that story lay in its superlatively fine reporting. A historian who can speak like Mr. Roosevelt, or write like Mr. Bost, could no doubt turn in an account of the battle of Gettysburg, and get it printed. But his relation to the newspapers would be that of a clever publicist, not that of a historian. And it is the historian and the daily press that this paper is supposed to discuss.

If there is no intimate and mutually profitable relation between them, it must be because neither historians nor daily newspapers have reached the ideal toward which both should strive. That ideal, I take it, is the position of an expositor to the public of the truth about men and events which the average man is not in position to observe for himself. Time and space are the deterrents of humanity's acquirements of all knowledge; it is the historian's business to reduce the handicap of time; it is the newspaper's business to reduce that of space. Their common object is, immediately, to furnish men with accurate information in order that, ultimately, men may know the truth which will make them free. So, in the final analysis, the historian who is true to his science, and the newspaper that is true to its pretensions, pursue a common ideal—the discovery, and the transmission to others, of as much of the truth as it is humanly possible to apprehend.

Therefore, no matter how far apart their starting points, since they work toward a single goal it is a logical necessity that their paths should converge. The point of contact is reached when the incident of the day, which it is the newspaper's business to handle, cannot be interpreted aright except in the light of something that has gone before, something that lies in the province of the historian. Then, if the people are to know the truth, the historian's special knowledge must buttress the journalist's general information. Then the profession and the trade supplement each other to admiration—the newspaper man has the fact, the historian has the knowledge to illuminate it. By their joint effort, and only by their joint effort, can they set it forth to the world in its true relations, can they make men estimate it at its true value.

But immediately the question arises as to the necessity of the historian's dependence upon the newspapers. Granting the importance of the historian's special knowledge in these critical times, and granting

the imperiousness of his summons to place his knowledge at the service of his country, one may still inquire, why should he resort to the columns of the daily press? Why should he not adhere to the time-honored method of inclosing his information in books?

The answer is obvious: because it is the age of democracy, and the daily press alone has the ear of DEMOS. Did our national policies depend upon the will of a small class, a leisurely and cultured class, such as actually ruled the country far into the nineteenth century, it might be feasible to reach them with books and reach them in time. But the fate of the nation no longer rests in the hands of studious and cultured gentlemen. It is directed by the will of the multitude, swayed by the passions of the multitude, and may be wrecked by the mistakes of the multitude. Information, to be of value to the nation, must be imparted to the multitude; and therefore it must come through the channels that reach the multitude, or come not at all. The daily press furnishes the only reading matter of enough people to swing the balance in any election. Therefore it is only through the daily press that the historian can reach the people, and reach them promptly.

Moreover, how many books could be produced if North Carolina were their sole market? Yet North Carolina, no less than the nation, has need of the services of some of you. North Carolina, also, is in a transitional period. She is changing her status and her whole outlook on life swiftly, almost suddenly. Therefore she is confronted with new problems that yet are in some measure old; and she needs desperately a true historical perspective if she is to understand them; and understand them she must, if she is to deal with them competently, and thereby clear the way to the leadership that appears now to be in sight.

Leadership is to be achieved by people who make mistakes, else none of us ever could qualify. But it is rarely, and with immense difficulty, to be achieved by people who make the same mistake twice. And how is the repetition of errors to be avoided by a people that is uninformed, or misinformed, as to the mistakes it has made in the past?

One of the thankless tasks that devolves upon you, as keepers of the records of the past, is the duty of warning the present generation lest it walk into ancient pitfalls. But if we must occasionally drag into the light of day the mistakes of our fathers, surely it is better to do it in the columns of a daily newspaper, that passes into oblivion with the rising of tomorrow's sun, than in the permanence of a book. If the warning is to serve for today, it must be spread where it will be read today; and if the display passes with the need of it, so much the better.

I should like much to see a series of articles by some historian of repute, analyzing the effects today of a certain characteristic that has been prominent in the record of North Carolina since the history of the state began. I refer to its astonishing self-sufficiency, as reflected in its political philosophy. The independence of North Carolina, its stiff refusal to bow the neck to any exterior power whatsoever, has brought us many, and enduring, glories—but it also brought us Appomatox. Who believes that the northern armies could have endured the series of disasters that marked the first two years of the war had they not been nerved to fresh efforts by the thought that they were fighting the institution of human slavery? Our refusal to accept the moral judgment of the rest of the nation against that abomination was at last the cause of our downfall—a downfall that utter devotion and immortal valor could postpone, but could not avert. That valor and that devotion are worthy of honor and praise, and we do well to dwell upon them; but is there less significance in the singularly blind determination to run our own affairs in our own way that caused them to be spent in vain?

That valor and devotion may be part of our heritage from our fathers, but that determination certainly is. Twice within recent years North Carolina interests have upset federal legislation governing child labor, less because North Carolinians are resolved to feed their children to the Moloch of industrialism than because they resent the interference of Congress with their business affairs. Is not this independence run to seed? North Carolina is rapidly becoming an industrial state, but it has as yet no effective workmen's compensation law, because manufacturers dislike state interference in their business; and that in the face of the fact that the most enlightened industrial communities long ago agreed that the risks of industry ought not to be borne by labor alone. Our boasted independence is once more bringing us into collision with the moral judgment of the nation. On the question of schools, on the question of roads, most conspicuously on the question of taxation, the cry of "county self-government" is being raised. Yet in all these things the counties have been tried and it has been proved that they are incapable of acting with wisdom and energy. "License they mean when they cry liberty."

What better service could a historian render North Carolina today than to attack and demolish this false independence, this much touted spirit of liberty which is really the spirit of obscurantism? "Your goodness," said Emerson, "must have some edge to it, else it is none." Put an edge to your history, gentlemen, an edge that will cut away the weeds of vanity and bombast that have overgrown our minds. Tip the

spearhead of your history with the point of a modern fact, and you have a weapon that the daily press never can resist the temptation to wield. And what dragons of error you might be the means of slaying, what dangers you might be the means of removing from the path of this state, no imagination is able to guess.

I have purposely touched upon the distasteful side of the historian's duty, as I see it, because that is the side ordinarily glossed over. There is small need to emphasize the pleasanter side of your work, for surely you must know that the daily press would be gratified to be allowed to assist you in your function as conservators of the accumulated wisdom of the past and custodians of the glories that our fathers won. I wish to assure you that we recognize also our duty to assist when it is necessary to exhibit the skeletons, and not the crowns.

For we are engaged alike in the hopeless quest. You are a learned society, and I the representative of a guild; but we both seek for the answer to the question Pilate asked Omniscience, and asked in vain: "What is truth?" We shall not find the answer in its entirety, but we may approach it if we seek diligently. But we must face all that we discover, whether it seems to us evil or good, for only as we tell her honestly and candidly all that we have found can we hope to help North Carolina to climb that long ascent that it is our pride to believe will eventually lead her among the stars.

An Old Time North Carolina Election

By LOUISE IRBY

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"Then none was for a party;
Then all were for the State;
Then the great man helped the poor,
And the poor man loved the great."

Thus the poet makes the old Roman lament the decadence of his own times in contrast with "the brave days of old." Such a lament is common to every generation, each of which looks back to the generations of the past as superior to itself. It is human to magnify the faults of those nearest to us and to laud the virtues of those from whom we are separated by great stretches of time or space. Yet when we really find out the conditions in the past, we learn that many of those whose records are brightest often took part in proceedings that would be condemned by our standards of today. For instance, no matter how democratic we may proclaim our country to have been in the past, we find everywhere a cleavage based on wealth, family, or some other artificial distinction. It has been aptly said that a statesman is a dead politician. So, too, the term "politician" with a slurring import is often used of one who in the future may be referred to as a great statesman.

I am going to tell the story of an election in which some of the most eminent of the early statesmen of North Carolina resorted to tactics which would arouse the moral indignation of a present-day Tammany politician. The story is well worth the telling for it involves not only some of the greatest names in the history of North Carolina, but what is of more interest, it concerns the most important political campaign in the history of the American people, viz., the campaign of 1788 for the ratification of the Constitution of the United States. The campaign in North Carolina aroused bitter class-feeling which put to shame the boasted democracy of our "Revolutionary Fathers." The "Esquires" and the "Common People" lined up against each other in solid phalanxes which soon crystallized into real political parties.

The Convention held in Philadelphia in 1787 for the purpose of preparing a new form of government for the United States, after completing its work, adopted a resolution expressing the opinion that Congress should submit the Constitution to a convention of delegates in each state, chosen by the people thereof, "under the recommendation of

its Legislature." A copy of the proposed Constitution, accompanied by an open letter from Washington, president of the Convention, was sent to the legislatures through the governors of the several states. Immediately the advocates and the opponents of the new scheme of government marshalled their forces for the contest under the names of Federalists and Anti-Federalists. Then, for the first time in our history, appeared the germs of our modern political parties. In the campaign that followed party animosity and personal bitterness raged more furiously than ever before or since in our history, except, perhaps, in the great campaign involving the issues of slavery and freedom.

The campaign in North Carolina was no exception to this general rule. Governor Caswell submitted the new Constitution to the General Assembly on November 21, 1787. The two houses in joint session named the last Friday and Saturday in March, 1788 as the time for the choice of delegates to attend a state convention for the purpose of deliberating on the Constitution. Freemen who had paid public taxes could vote in the election, but only freeholders were eligible to sit in the Convention. Each of the fifty-eight counties was entitled to have five delegates, each of the six borough towns one, and the election was to be held under the same rules as regular elections for members of the General Assembly. The delegates elected were to assemble in Convention at Hillsborough July 21, 1788. The public printer was ordered to print 1500 copies of the Constitution to be dispersed by the members of the Assembly among their constituents.

The campaign was conducted with great violence. At the sessions of the courts, at county militia musters, in the taverns, wherever men gathered, the main topics of conversation were the Constitution and its framers. Arguments were advanced pro and con in letters, in pamphlets, in communications to the newspapers, and in public addresses. The progress of sentiment in other states was eagerly followed. Advocates of the Constitution focussed attention on the beneficial results that would follow adoption; their opponents pointed out many defects in the plan drawn up at Philadelphia. In the heat of argument no man's character was above attack and no past political or military service could overcome party animosity. Thomas Person, a general of the Revolution and a patriot of undoubted sincerity, denounced Washington as "a damned rascal and traitor to his country for putting his hand to such an infamous paper as the new Constitution." Willie Jones, leader of the Anti-Federalists, found it necessary to deny in the public press that he had "called the Members of the Grand Convention, generally, and General Washington and Col. Davie, in particular, scoun-

drels," and asserted that he thought Washington "the first and best character in the world" and Davie "a valuable member of the community." William Hooper, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, tried in vain for a seat in the Convention. Other men as distinguished as he met a similar fate. Among those who were thus rejected was no less a leader than Richard Caswell, whose defeat in Dobbs county was the climax of the campaign.

In 1788 the present counties of Lenoir, Greene and Wayne comprised Dobbs County with Kinston as the county seat. When the election was called to elect delegates to the Convention at Hillsborough, interest in the new form of government had reached its height. Copies of the Constitution had been scattered over the country printed on broadsides and in newspapers, so the people had had the opportunity to be well-informed as to the issues involved. Those who could not read or could not understand the provisions of the document listened eagerly to others discourse upon it and later passed on the arguments they had heard. Six states had already ratified, so there was strong probability that the new plan would go into effect. Most of the men of wealth, education, and social and political prominence in the county were for the adoption of the Constitution. The majority of the people, however, were loth to accept any change in the form of government.

Among the Federalist candidates, first and foremost was Richard Caswell, who would surely reflect honor on any gathering. He was not only one of the leading men of the state at that time, but he is one of the most prominent men in the entire history of North Carolina. Coming to North Carolina from Maryland as a young man, he started on a career that extended over forty years of public life, during which time he was accorded almost every honor that the state could bestow. He was speaker of the Assembly, colonial treasurer, delegate to the Continental Congress, president of the Provincial Congress, and president of the Constitutional Convention of 1776 which adopted the State Constitution; he took a prominent part in military affairs, serving against the Regulators at Alamance, against the Highlanders at Moore's Creek Bridge, and with Gates in his disastrous campaign against Cornwallis which at Camden ended in the worst defeat ever sustained by an American army. Largely due to his military fame, he was chosen the first governor of North Carolina after independence was declared, and was reelected six times. Such was the man who wished to serve his state in the Convention that was to decide the future relations of North

Carolina to the union, but who was defeated by candidates whose sole claim to fame is that they were Caswell's opponents in the election. In the sketch of Caswell in the *Biographical History of North Carolina* it is stated that it was largely through his influence that North Carolina rejected the Federal Constitution as it was first presented. This statement is no doubt founded on Caswell's refusal to serve in the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia. The explanation that Caswell himself made for declining to attend the Convention was that "from my bad state of health about the time appointed for the meeting of the Convention it was impracticable for me to attend." His subsequent course toward the Constitution leaves us no room to doubt that this was his real reason. In the account of the election which I am going to relate, I shall show not only that Caswell ran on the Federalist ticket, but also that his supporters were willing to use any means to have him seated in the Convention that was to consider the Constitution.

With Caswell, there was his brother-in-law, John Herritage, on whose family estate the town of Kinston had been laid out. He was a man of influence in the county, having served as commissioner for erecting the county buildings, and along with Caswell was a trustee of Dobbs Academy, and "trustee and director" of the town of Kinston. Almost rivaling Caswell in prominence was James Glasgow, who had served as Secretary of State since 1777. In the Revolutionary period he had served as assistant secretary of the Provincial Congress and secretary of the Council of Safety. Later he was on the committee to state the Revolutionary accounts of North Carolina with the United States and was clerk to the claims committee. He also served the county in various ways. The other two Federalist candidates, Bryan Whitfield and Benjamin Sheppard, had held important positions in both the county and the state. Since Dobbs county was formed in 1760 Richard Caswell had represented it in fifteen of the twenty-four general assemblies, and during each of the last eight years one or more of these Federalist candidates had represented the county as senator or as commoner. It would have been hard, indeed, to find men of better training and experience to help North Carolina determine her attitude toward the new Constitution.

In spite of their varied careers in politics, however, the Federalist candidates in Dobbs county displayed less political sagacity than their more inexperienced opponents. They failed to realize the necessity of presenting a solid front, but allowed some of their none-too-numerous

supporters to fritter away part of their strength by casting a few merely complimentary votes for men closely allied with them by family. No such over-confidence prevailed in the Anti-Federalist campaign. They presented only five candidates and lined up behind them in solid array. Whereas Richard Caswell and James Glasgow received twenty-two more votes than John Herritage, there was a difference of only five between the votes of the highest and the lowest Anti-Federalist candidates. The practically solid Anti-Federalist vote went for Moses Westbrook, Jacob Johnson, Isaac Croom, Absalom Price, and Abraham Baker. So far as I have been able to find in the records, these men were with no political experience with the one exception of Moses Westbrook, who had represented the county one term in the House of Commons. The voters of Dobbs county were to choose between men who for years had held prominent positions in the state and others who, if they had ability, had not had the opportunity to display it.

Benjamin Caswell, sheriff of Dobbs county, feeling the great responsibility resting upon him, took every precaution to have a fair election. The box used to receive the votes, being originally meant to receive the votes for the Senate and the House of Commons, was divided into two receptacles, each with a separate lid, one for receiving the votes for senator, the other for receiving the votes for commoners. During the voting for delegates to the Convention, all the ballots were put in one side, the other side being sealed. Ordinarily each ballot as it was counted was torn in two and thrown away, but to insure a fair count in the present election Sheriff Caswell arranged to have the ballots preserved after being counted and deposited in the vacant side of the ballot box. Thus they would be ready for a recount in the event of a disputed election.

On Saturday evening after the balloting had closed, the poorly ventilated, dimly lighted court-room was half-filled with men anxiously watching the counting of the votes. As each name was called out and recorded, speculation as to the outcome rose to a high pitch. Desultory conversation ceased and those present gathered more closely around the group recording the votes. Frederick Baker, probably a brother of Candidate Baker, was holding a candle near the table eagerly watching the returns. To the delight of the Anti-Federalists the election was going in favor of their candidates, and as name after name was called out, there could be no doubt as to the outcome. The total number of

ballots cast was 372, each elector voting for five candidates; the counting of the first 252 showed the following results:

FEDERALISTS

Richard Caswell,	120
James Glasgow,	120
Benjamin Sheppard,	110
Bryan Whitfield,	106
John Herritage,	98

ANTI-FEDERALISTS

Moses Westbrook,	159
Jacob Johnson,	158
Isaac Croom,	157
Absalom Price,	156
Abraham Baker,	154

In addition to these there were a few scattering Federalist votes.

The Federalists were deeply chagrined. Was it possible that Richard Caswell, ex-governor, and James Glasgow, even then the Secretary of State, could be defeated by such obscure and inexperienced men? The very thought made them blush for their county! "Poor Dobbs, Poor Dobbs," they moaned as they moved here and there among the crowd, "Preacher Baker before Governor Caswell!" They decried the character and ability of their successful opponents and cursed the folly of the people. The Anti-Federalists, of course, did not tamely submit to these insults. Caswell and Glasgow, no doubt, had done good service, but their efforts would not be called for in this case. There would be others to represent Dobbs county at Hillsborough. Their air of confidence roiled the supporters of the losing candidates, who began to utter threats. Feeling rose to fever heat. But the Federalist leaders realized that the crisis called for something more than futile lamentations and unexecuted threats. Action—prompt, bold, decisive—alone could save the day, and action was quickly agreed upon. Loudly declaring that Neall Hopkins, one of the inspectors of the election, was showing too much interest in the results, an angry Federalist strode up to the bench on which sat the ballot box, and threatened him with blows, and, as simultaneously another Federalist struck the candle from Frederick Baker's hand. Inspector Hopkins prudently hastened to seek safety through an open window. Instantly all the other candles were knocked over, and the room was left in utter darkness.

For a moment the startled crowd was quiet. Then, suddenly, pandemonium broke loose. The sound of curses and blows was heard above the uproar. Sheriff Caswell, endeavoring to guard the ballot-box, was

knocked almost senseless, and the box was forcibly and violently wrenched from him and carried away. Thereupon Benjamin Sheppard, one of the Federalist candidates, turning to his supporters, exclaimed, "Well done, Boys, now we'll have a new Election!"

The morning after the riot, the ballot box was found near the jail, broken to pieces with the tickets scattered around it on the ground. Curiosity led many people to the place to see the remains of the evidence that might have elected Anti-Federalists to seats in the State Convention. Robert White declared that he picked up "a number of Scrolls or Tickets which appeared to be done up in the Manner they Commonly are when put in the box;" and that of the sixty-three scrolls that he examined sixty-two had the names of Johnson, Baker, Westbrook, Price and Croom written on them. But Charles Markland Jr., passing the jail, saw the remains of the box and the tickets, some of which were open and the others rolled up. He collected as many as he conveniently could and carried them to Luther Spalding's tavern, where he observed to Spalding that there seemed to be more tickets for the Federalist candidates than for the others. Spalding upon counting some of the votes remarked that if the election had been broken up by members of the Federalist party they did wrong, for it seemed from the uncounted ballots that the Federalist candidates would have been elected.

The Federalists had prevented the success of their opponents, but that was not sufficient,—they must have Federalist delegates to represent the county. Accordingly they appealed to Samuel Johnston, the Federalist governor, to order a new election. Johnston promptly complied with the request, but, doubtful of his authority in the matter, merely "recommended" to the sheriff to hold another election. The reason he gave in his order to the sheriff was that "it hath been made appear to me that the Ballots taken by you at the late General Election for Delegates to the State Convention, were forceably & violently seized and taken from you by some riotous and disorderly persons, so that you had it not in your power to ascertain who were the persons who had the greatest number of Votes, and therefore cannot make a Return of any Persons as duly elected to serve as delegates in the said Convention." The Governor also said that "a number of respectable Inhabitants of the said county have by Petition, represented to me, that the Inhabitants of the said County are desirous that I should appoint another Day for the purpose of electing Delegates to represent them in the said Convention.

"I do therefore recommend to such of the Inhabitants of Dobbs County aforesaid, as are entitled to vote for Representatives in the house of Commons to meet at the Court House of the said County on

the fourteenth & fifteenth days of July next, then and there to elect five Freeholders to represent them in the State Convention to be held at the Town of Hillsborough on the third Monday in July next; and I do hereby require you to give notice to the Inhabitants to meet accordingly, and that you attend at the same time & place and conduct the said Election in the manner prescribed by the Resolve of the last General Assembly held at Tarborough."

The sheriff accordingly held the election as "recommended" by His Excellency. No cognizance was taken of the identity of the "riotous and disorderly persons" who had broken up the former election, and how many of the "respectable inhabitants" really desired such a new election may be inferred from the number who took part in it. Whereas 372 votes were cast in the March election, only 85 were cast in the July election, all the Anti-Federalists, for fear of countenancing an illegal procedure, remaining away from the polls. Accordingly, Federalist candidates were chosen without opposition and Richard Caswell, James Glasgow, Winston Caswell, Benjamin Sheppard, and Nathan Lassiter were given certificates of election.

When the Convention convened at Hillsborough July 21, these five Federalists appeared to take their seats. A strong protest against seating them was presented by the Anti-Federalists of Dobbs county. Upon the motion of William Lenoir of Wilkes County, which was seconded by Thomas Person of Granville, the returns for Dobbs county were read. Lenoir then presented a petition signed by 248 men. A number of these men, not being able to write, made their marks. They protested against the means used by 85 men of the county to send Federalist delegates to the Convention. In the petition they stated how the first election had been broken up by a riot because it was apparent that the Anti-Federalist candidates would be elected, and how the Federalists had induced the Governor to grant a new election. The petitioners claimed that the Governor had exceeded his power in calling a second election and asked that Johnson, Baker, Westbrook, Price and Croom be seated in the Convention.

Richard Dobbs Spaight of Craven presented the deposition of Sheriff Benjamin Caswell, in which he stated what had taken place at the March election, together with a poll of the election so that the Convention would have the basis for judging the result. Spaight also presented the depositions of William Croom, Neall Hopkins, Robert White, John Hartsfield, Job Smith and Frederick Baker, giving the details of the election, the riot, and the tickets that were found the next morning. Stephen Cabarrus of Chowan presented the depositions of Charles Mark-

land, Jr., and Luther Spalding in regard to the votes that were picked up the day after the election, upholding the contentions of the Federalists.

The petition and the various depositions were referred to the committee of elections which was composed of eleven Federalists and sixteen Anti-Federalists. Among them were Samuel Spencer, David Caldwell, Thomas Person, William R. Davie, Isaac Gregory, James Iredell, Stephen Cabarrus, and Archibald Maclaine. On July 23, Gregory presented to the Convention the report of the committee, which recommended "that the sitting members returned from the county of Dobbs vacate their seats, as it does not appear that a majority of the county approved of a new election under the recommendation of his excellency the governor, but the contrary is more probable." On the petition of the Anti-Federalists that their candidates be seated, the committee reported that, because of the riot at the March election, "the sheriff could have made no return of any five members elected, nor was there any evidence before the committee by which they could determine with certainty, which candidates had a majority of the votes of the other electors. The committee was therefore of opinion, that the first election is void as well as the latter."

To this report the Convention agreed. Dobbs county, consequently, was unrepresented in the North Carolina Convention that first considered the Federal Constitution and two of the foremost citizens of the state were unseated. The Federalists of Dobbs County had been able to keep their opponents from the Convention but not to seat their own candidates. The result, however, had no effect upon the deliberations of the Convention, which refused to ratify the new Constitution by a majority of 184 to 84. Accordingly, when George Washington was inaugurated President of the United States, the newspapers of the time listed North Carolina as a "foreign state." The epithet was unpalatable to her people and before the year was out they called a second convention which re-instated North Carolina to her rightful place in the sisterhood of states.

SOURCES.—The sources consulted in the preparation of this essay are: State Records of North Carolina, Vols. XI-XXV; the original depositions, petitions, etc., filed in "The Papers of the Convention of 1788" (Collections of the North Carolina Historical Commission); photostat copies of contemporaneous North Carolina newspapers in the collections of the North Carolina Historical Commission; the Charles E. Johnson Manuscripts (Collections of the North Carolina Historical Commission); McRee, Griffith J.,

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Raleigh and Roanoke

BY JOHN JORDAN DOUGLASS.

Knight of famed Albion's Golden Age,
When Shakespeare sang his deathless song,
Bright shines thy name upon the page
Amid the crowned immortal throng:
Statesman, soldier, patron of the sea,
Fain would I touch my humble harp to thee!

Clear-visioned like the great Genoese,
No seas thy conquering courage tombed;
Faith gave thee thrice her magic keys
To ope the gates where freedom bloomed
On land remote from courts and kings,
Wide-measured by the eagle's wings.

Sea-King, who watched the red-speared dawns
Break through nights' nubian bands,
Who played with death with ships as pawns
Held in the sea's blue hands.
Thy spirit sought the western star,
Where gleamed the sunset's golden bar.

Sea-seer whose ships sailed to our land
Ere, 'mid New England's snows,
Was kindled by the Pilgrim's hand
Freedom's watch-fire that still glows,
We come in varied walks and ways
To sing thy noble praise.

Saw there in vision this great State,
Beyond the isle which, like a rose,
Blooms fair beside the sea's green gate
Through which the blue tide comes and goes—
Roanoke, that sparkling emerald gem
In Neptune's diadem!

Was it thy province to behold,
As seer and prophet oft times see,
A land of freemen, leal and bold,
To thrill the world with Liberty—
A State whose patriots first arose
Near where the red Catawba flows!

Who first in Mecklenburg declared
The Western world, by right, was free—
Who boldly signed their names, and dared
To question tyranny!
Ere Freedom's Excalibur, bright and keen,
Flashed in the hands of Greene!

Mayhap, thine was the prophet's gaze
Beyond the tawdry gild of thrones,
Where 'mid Roanoke's moss-tangled maze,
Rose Freedom's altar stones;
Roanoke, harp of the singing sea
That chants thy threnody.

White-winged thy ships, like wild birds, fared
Across the sea to far Roanoke;
Of thee who dreamed, and, dreaming, dared
The Wonder of the New World broke;
There on the balmy, breeze-swept shore
The New World's open door.

Roanoke, where once the red man roamed,
In stoic solitude,
And built near where the wild sea foamed
His wigwam strange and crude:
The first to feel the white man's tread,
To shroud his stern, heroic dead.

To thee sailed ships one memoried day,
Like weird unearthly birds,
They rode thy placid sheltered bay,
Whose bright blue border girds
The wave-kissed shore whose stately trees
Call to the wandering gypsy breeze.

The eagle, perched on lofty crest,
Looked down with restless eye,
Screamed to the fledglings in her nest
And sought the cloud plumed sky,
Strong-winged, majestic, meant to be
The symbol of the free!

The brown doe, startled at her drink,
Turned toward the tangled brake,
Shot like an arrow from the brink
Where lay the lilled lake;
And with her fawn far coverts sought,
In shadowy silence deeper wrought.

The night-hawk warned her wandering mate
High in a ghostly oak;
And silence like some spell of fate
Lay deep upon Roanoke.
Where stretched the shimmering strand of gold
The New World met the storied old.

High sailed the moon, the Night's corsair;
In anchored calm the strange ships rode;
The sails close-reefed; the mast-poles bare;
The sea-wind sang its solemn ode:
'Neath starry skies the New World slept,
Its fierce wild cries unleashed, unkept.

No more would maids of Manteo
In dark-eyed splendor reign alone;
Soon would the face, white like the snow,
Call all the origin wild its own:
Soon, soon, the red rose droop and die;
Ne'er with the conquering lily vie!

By ebon pool, in sylvan glade,
Etched with the gold of filtered light,
Once dreamed the graceful Indian maid
Till day flowed purple into night,
And o'er the gray sea, hedged with gloom,
Saw dawn's first roses bloom.

Near by the sea a camp-fire burned,
Its lambent streamers leaping high;
And then a dusky maiden turned
As turns the brown doe's startled eye;
Clung like a wild vine close to him,
Whose stoic silence mocked her whim.

The light of doom: no more she gazed
Within the cypress-shadowed stream,
But like a wild thing, hushed, amazed,
Passed like the wan moon's sickly gleam,
When 'gainst the sky the smoke-plumes tower:
So passed the woodland's wild red flower.

The red man's feet would seek the west
His soul to savage lyres attuned;
Born in his heart a deep unrest
Called where the wandering west wind crooned:
No more his wild, weird cry was flung;
The Iliad of his doom was sung.

And if the march of man were o'er
When world had answered call of world,
The thunderous waves broke on that shore
In sparkling splendor, glittering, pearly,
Up from the sea, the bay's blue marge
Roanoke rose like a fairy barge.

Roanoke, scene of historic years,
Long gone with silent tread
With him who dreamed in hemispheres,
And sought thy shores to wed:
Roanoke, lute by the lilting sea
That sings of the Lost Colony.

Here first the conquering white man came
To light faith's altar-fires;
Here carved that strange and mystic name
That even yet conspires
To guard the secret darkly laid
Beneath the woodland's slumberous shade.

Mock-birds from tree and scented vine
Poured, rippling liquid notes,
That thrilled the white man's ear like wine
Gold poured from golden throats:
And romance called with living lyre—
Land of the hearts' desire!

It was the troth of East and West,
A common sea between;
A fathomed deep whose throbbing breast
Shall ever intervene,
Lest e'er in time, an alien flood
Should cleave the white man's welded blood.

The eagle guards its wild waves here,
The lion keeps them there,
And France with golden lilies spear
That pierced the world's despair;
And Italy, proud, historic Rome,
The Caesar's regal home.

Roanoke, fair isle we love the best,
Clasped in the sea's blue arms,
Rare pearl upon the ocean's breast
With sweet and lingering charms,
How oft our thoughts go wandering there
Back to the babe Virginia Dare!

We count it well that here was born
The first white child upon our shore,
Where love and honor still adorn,
The brow of woman, as of yore:
A sacred trust we shall defend
With chivalrous courage till the end.

Like him who spread his scarlet cloak
Lest his fair queen should touch the earth,
We spread our mantle on Roanoke
When this sweet baby had her birth,
The great seal of this sovereign State
Symbolic of our estimate.

Roanoke, stile at our Eastern door
Which first the white man knew,
Blue bay whose sparkling bosom bore
Sir Walter's gallant crew,
Thou wast the earnest of a state,
Wide-peopled, strong and great.

A state where Anglo-Saxons dwell,
The purest in this land,
Whose forbears wrested hill and dell
From out of the red man's hand,
And drove the ploughshare deep and wide
From sea to mountain side.

A people native to the soil
Unfettered, free from kings,
Where manhood, crowned with honest toil
To truth and honor clings:
A people, sturdy, seeking heights
Where burn the beacon-lights.

A people who e'en yet shall write
A new and nobler score
Which temples tower loft and white,
With wide and open door,
To every youth who dares to dream
Of learning's fathomed stream.

Brave, martyred soul, we greet thee here,
Thine is the hero's share;
Time carves thy name with jeweled tear,
Time carves it deep and fair.
Carolina holds in honor yet
Thy name with five score jewels set!

Well has our State in honor called
Her capital by thy name,
The name that England once enthralled,
But never steeped in shame:
O Raleigh, Carolina's chalice love is thine;
Green as her princeliest long leaf pine.

Rich as the gems within her west,
Fair as her pearls in ocean's breast,
Sweet as her rarest full blown rose
To thee her cornucopia flows:
Captain, Conqueror, Prophet of the sea,
Carolina strikes her hundred harps to thee!

The Bread and Butter Aspect of North Carolina History

BY D. D. CARROLL

University of North Carolina

The industrial history of North Carolina waits to be written. Here and there are choice bits of clear and effective statement in the field of economic happening, but there is not that connected, comprehensive bringing together of vital facts in this realm which its importance merits, and without which our general interpretations will always be lame and halting. Indeed, our perception of trends and tendencies is dulled or is dangerously inaccurate without the stubborn, drab fact of economic circumstance. May I venture the opinion that, failing in this function of correctly detecting and indicating tendencies, the historian hazards his choicest contribution.

I would not be misunderstood. I do not hold communion with that school of economists or group of historians who believe that all human action can be reduced to the low level of stomach causation, that all that man has done or ever will do finds its ultimate and only explanation in the struggle for economic advantage. My appetite for philosophy almost persuades me at this point to spend my allotted time in pursuing this fascinating fallacy,—not so much to prove its variance from the truth, as to show how powerful it has been in determining the bent of progress when processes of change were gripping at the fundamentals of the social structure. Emerson's statement that "we are radicals before dinner and conservatives after dinner" certainly magnifies dinner as a potent force in shaping human history. And while it jars us somewhat to discover that a daring historian has, like a Don Quixote, charged at our Jeffersonian democracy with the poisoned lance of economic interpretation, it may make for ultimate truth in getting us to seek the source of the beauty of that fine flower of civic aspiration in the humus of earthy soil, as well as in the sunshine of political idealism.

At this time, it is particularly important, that more accurate and inclusive attention be given to the economic aspects of our life. During the past forty years, an Industrial Revolution has been going on in this commonwealth which rivals, if it does not exceed in rate and degree of change, that which brought to England a Pandora's box of problems. For half a century England groped and wrestled in darkness, before her historians diagnosed the real issues, and she was just beginning to understand and to deal accurately with them when the Great War came

on. It is not necessary to remind a gathering such as this, that it was largely the work of that fine group of economic historians and historical economists which revealed the true cause, nature, and extent of those problems. Perhaps all will admit that Britain has paid and will continue to pay dearly for not taking stock and keeping full records of her industrial life as the Revolution proceeded. May I venture the statement that at this moment *we* are immersed in an industrial transformation which is not only more rapid than that of England, but is carrying a twentieth century voltage. To continue this figure, the economic current in life has been stepped up to a voltage higher than our moral safety would probably justify, since selfish class interests grow deep and intense in its heat. But this makes it all the more important to keep the records full and the interpretations clear. To make for greater complication, just as our industrial life was emerging from adolescence into the steady and enduring stride of healthy, confident youth, it imbibed a dangerously large dose of the war profits intoxicant, which sent it lunging forward, in a blundering stagger, dangerous alike to itself and every other phase of life to which it is related. To our normal problems, and they would have been troublesome and complex enough, we must add just at this time the aggravations of the "cold grey dawn of the morning after." Disentangling, then, the normal peace-time trend from the abnormal war activity, and properly assessing each, is a task which must not be neglected. It must be done, too, before its recession into the past obscures the identity of the already tangled threads.

It may not be out of place to indicate a few examples of the operation and comparative significance of industrial happening in directing the general trend of our history. The first tilt in the next political campaign is already being fought, and it is rather interesting to observe that it centers around the question "whether we are as rich as we thought we were or whether we are as poor as we hope we are not." Somewhere between the reckless optimism of the one side and the shrewd and calculating pessimism of the other, the unbiased, well-balanced student may find the truth of economic fact, and put the deceivers, whichever they be or if both they be, to rout. The significant thing is that when the facts are established, their power will be almost irresistible. Witness, will you not, the narrow escape of that comprehensive program of social progress from threatened wreckage in our last legislature, when it faced price declines in cotton and tobacco. I dare say that as lifeless a thing as the price curve of those commodities will be a more meaningful

decoration of the page of history which records that forward step than the facsimile of any political declaration.

There may be some difference of opinion as to the relative importance of the various indices of determining forces and the trend of dominant interest at the present time. Granting that when the economic equilibrium is upset the economic motive grips humanity most powerfully, there can be little possible disagreement concerning the portent of a Southern Tariff Congress meeting in Greensboro, of scores of thousands of cooperative marketing contracts with teeth in them, or the Electric Power controversy, or a declaration of affiliation between the Farmers Union and the State Federation of Labor. (Announced day before yesterday and given two inches of space in one of our leading daily papers.) Around each of these and a host of others which might be mentioned is a halo of related fact and pregnant circumstance rich in historical content.

In the less well-defined but more difficult field of slow change and gradual cumulative development, there are greater opportunities for far-sighted interpretation. The relation of expanding road mileage and motor transportation to social and civic life should be measured, analyzed, and stated. The passing of the first generation of cotton mill workers drawn from the individualistic mountaineer farmers and the tenants of the Piedmont region, and the ascendancy of their children, reared under strong group influences and numerous social restrictions, will give an impetus to class unity and economic friction, which will color our future in beauty or in blood. If our social policy be based on broad and thorough analysis of the facts and tendencies, then in beauty, but if it follows lines of ignorance or prejudice, then in blood.

As we launch further and further into the complexities of this more highly industrialized and class conscious life we shall lose irreparably, if we leave the way by which we came uncharted by full and accurate description and sound interpretation. The issues of the transition cannot long be evaded or postponed and the historian must perform his task with promptness and consecration.

Some fine examples of work in this field are already available. The quality of Dr. Hamilton's chapters on economic conditions in his treatise on Reconstruction is worthy of imitation in other periods, and Mitchell's "Rise of the Cotton Industry in the South" certainly should prove a fine seed-bed for a more thorough-going treatise on the same subject in this state. An increasing number of biographical studies are appearing in which constructive business achievement takes its place alongside political statesmanship. In "A Builder of the New South," Doctor

Winston has made an evaluation in terms of an industrial romance which should be the beginning of a series. The choice articles in economic history appearing in the *South Atlantic Quarterly* should also be mentioned in this connection.

But fine as these are, they are mere scraps in a long and varied story. Let me indicate a few general lines each of which will require a host of monographs. The history of agriculture would be full of solid value and rich in basic tendencies. Doubtless dramatic possibilities, too would recur with surprising frequency in such far reaching matters as the competition of slave labor, "poor white trash," and the small farmers of the Piedmont and mountain sections, not to speak of the tragedy of the tenant farmer of the later day. The perennial stock-law controversy and the activities of the Farmers Alliance and The Farmers Union would explain many a piece of cloak-room strategy in legislative domain. More important but less spectacular would be the long and stubborn fight against the law of diminishing returns in the use of agricultural land, with victory assured only by the enlistment of that increasing array of scientific farmers armed with crop rotation, seed selection, soil analysis and similar up-to-date weapons. The evolution of transportation should also be full of interest, for here have appeared extremes of forward movement and stagnant isolation. Some of the earliest and best railroads were built within our state and few commonwealths can show a more interesting history of public ownership in this field. Some historian could well afford to give us facts about such things as freight discriminations, state rate regulation, "lost provinces," the good roads movement, motor transportation and its effect socially and economically. Shall the youth of the future as he purchases gas at a wayside station not have his contempt softened by the knowledge that here a country store once furnished his forbears their choicest social centre and their most effective political forum? Our present pride in the federal revenue records of our tobacco industry ought to create more definite curiosity concerning the early struggles of this giant industry. And who could withstand the desire to know the epic of that formerly blighted area—"The Sandhills"—after a journey through its blooming and blushing orchards, vineyards, and melon fields? Would it be heresy to say that in the articles of agreement between striking laborers and stubborn capitalists may be a more profound and significant index of the future than in any declaration of political independence? Many more such lines of research and interpretation might be enum-

erated but these few indicate the amount of light which may be thrown by economic happening on the nature of the seed-bed of social progress and political evolution.

The intricately interwoven and mutually interacting elements make it a difficult task, but drab and uninspiring at first sight, the richness of content which would soon appear will bring adequate compensation not to speak of its value in giving soundings in dangerous waters and in charting the safe course for the future of the state. May I thus challenge you to the gathering of the raw materials for the production of the constituent parts of a comprehensive industrial history of North Carolina which will rival in fascination and stirring movement the record of any other phase of our life? Some later master hand must have these strong and varied threads if he is to weave a sound basic fabric in the unending tapestry of our state's achievement.

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 Mrs. J. M. Winfree, Raleigh
 Hon. Francis D. Winston
 Hon. George T. Winston, Asheville
 Hon. R. W. Winston, Raleigh
 J. H. Wisler, Moncure
 Dr. W. A. Withers, Raleigh
 Frank Wood, Edenton
 J. G. Wood, Edenton
 Mrs. F. A. Woodard, Wilson
 W. F. Woodard, Wilson
 Mrs. W. F. Woodard, Wilson
 E. E. Wright, New Orleans, La.
 W. H. Yarborough, Louisburg
 J. R. Young, Raleigh

PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION
BULLETIN No. 29

NINTH
BIENNIAL REPORT
OF THE
NORTH CAROLINA
HISTORICAL COMMISSION

1920-1922

A PEOPLE WHO HAVE NOT THE PRIDE TO
RECORD THEIR HISTORY WILL NOT LONG
HAVE THE VIRTUE TO MAKE HISTORY THAT
IS WORTH RECORDING.

NINTH BIENNIAL REPORT

OF THE

North Carolina Historical Commission

December 1, 1920, to
November 30, 1922

RALEIGH, N. C.
EDWARDS & BROUGHTON PRINTING COMPANY
STATE PRINTERS
1923

North Carolina Historical Commission

J. BRYAN GRIMES, *Chairman*, Raleigh

FRANK WOOD, Edenton

M. C. S. NOBLE, Chapel Hill

THOMAS M. PITTMAN, Henderson

HERIOT CLARKSON, Charlotte

D. H. HILL, *Secretary*, Raleigh

Letter of Transmittal

To His Excellency,

CAMERON MORRISON,

Governor of North Carolina.

SIR:—I have the honor to submit herewith for your Excellency's consideration the Biennial Report of the North Carolina Historical Commission, for December 1, 1920-November 30, 1922.

Respectfully,

J. BRYAN GRIMES,
Chairman.

RALEIGH, N. C., January, 1923.

BIENNIAL REPORT
OF THE
Secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission
DECEMBER 1, 1920, TO NOVEMBER 30, 1922

To HON. J. BRYAN GRIMES, *Chairman*, MESSRS. THOMAS M. PITTMAN,
M. C. S. NOBLE, FRANK WOOD AND HERIOT CLARKSON, *Com-
missioners*.

GENTLEMEN:—I have the honor to submit the following report of the work of the North Carolina Historical Commission for the period December 1, 1920-November 30, 1922.

ORGANIZATION

There has been one change in the organization of the Commission. On November 16, 1922, D. H. Hill resigned his commission to become Secretary of the Historical Commission. To fill his unexpired term, the Governor appointed the same day Hon. Heriot Clarkson of Charlotte. Hon. J. Bryan Grimes has continued as Chairman of the Commission for the whole period of this report.

On August 31, 1921, Mr. R. D. W. Connor, who had been Secretary to the Commission since its inception in 1903, resigned his office to become Kenan Professor of History and Government in the University of North Carolina. The Commission elected to succeed Mr. Connor, D. H. Hill, who began his duties as Secretary on September 1, 1921.

During the period covered by this report the following have composed the permanent staff of the office:

OFFICE FORCE

Secretary, R. D. W. Connor (through August 31, 1921); D. H. Hill (September 1, 1921-).

Legislative Reference Librarian, H. M. London.

Collector for the Hall of History, Fred A. Olds.

Collector of World War Records, R. B. House.

Restorer of Manuscripts, Mrs. J. M. Winfree.

Stenographer, Miss Marjory Terrell.

Stenographer, Miss Sophie Busbee (through October 31, 1921).

Stenographer, Mrs. W. J. Poole (since December 1, 1921).

File Clerk, Mrs. W. S. West.

Messenger, William Birdsall.

The following were temporarily employed for special service:

Assistant Legislative Reference Librarian, W. T. Joyner (January 6-March 6, 1921. December 1-20, 1921).

Copyist, Miss Alice Moffitt (December 1, 1920-August 31, 1921).

Assistant File Clerk, Miss Sophie Busbee (since June 12, 1922).

Compiler of Revolutionary Roster, Moses Amis (since March 1, 1922).

DIVISION OF DOCUMENTS

EXECUTIVE PAPERS

The papers of the following Governors, transferred from the Governor's office, were properly arranged and filed:

R. B. Glenn, 1905-1909.

Locke Craig, 1913-1917.

T. W. Bickett, 1917-1920.

These papers total 93 cases; 1,000 pieces. In addition, the letter-book of Governor Bickett was edited and arranged with a view to publication. Additional papers were distributed among the Executive Papers previously arranged as follows: Richard Caswell, Samuel Johnston, W. W. Holden, Tod R. Caldwell, C. H. Brogden, Zebulon B. Vance, Thomas J. Jarvis, A. M. Scales, D. G. Fowle, T. M. Holt, Elias Carr, C. B. Aycock. They total 1,975 pieces.

LETTER-BOOKS

Thirty-one letter-books were arranged in the papers of the following Governors:

A. M. Scales, 1885-1889.

D. G. Fowle, 1889-1891.

Thomas M. Holt, 1891-1893.

Elias Carr, 1893-1897.

D. L. Russell, 1897-1901.

W. W. Kitchin, 1909-1913.

WARRANT BOOKS

Six Warrant Books were arranged in the papers of the following Governors:

David Stone, 1808-1810.

Benjamin Smith, 1810-1811.

William Hawkins, 1812-1814.

William Miller, 1814-1817.

John Branch, 1817-1820.

Thomas J. Jarvis, 1879-1885.

MILITARY PAPERS

The following military papers were arranged for use:

Muster Rolls Militia, 1812-1815.~

Civil War Papers, 1860-1864.

Devereux Papers, 1860-1864.

They total 5,000 pieces.

OFFICIAL BOARDS

The following records of official boards were arranged for use:

Board of Internal Improvements, 1819-1891.

Secretary of State's Papers, 1736-1800.

Letters to the Secretary of State, 1729-1905.

Literary Board, 1835-1868.

Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1858-1888.

They total 6,500 pieces.

RECORDS OF TREASURER, COMPTROLLER, AND AUDITOR

Thirty-three volumes and 7,900 papers from the offices of the Treasurer, Comptroller, and Auditor, 1790-1865, were classified, catalogued, and arranged for use.

OLD NORTH CAROLINA NEWSPAPERS

Photostat copies of North Carolina newspapers prior to 1800 were arranged and catalogued by a descriptive list giving name, place, publisher, date, number, and condition of each paper.

HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS

The following collections of historical manuscripts were arranged for use:

Charles P. Bolles Letter-books, 1846-1855.

John H. Bryan Papers (197 pieces of new material), 1798-1870.

Drury Lacy Papers, 1800-1883.

Frederick Nash Papers, 1781-1858.

David Clark Papers, 1820-1882.

Gash Papers, 1816-1898.

Wood John Hamlin Papers, 1762-1835.

In addition to these, 7,556 papers have been properly distributed among collections previously arranged.

WORLD WAR RECORDS, 1914-1920

The collection of over 100,000 items of World War Records was arranged for use. Among these, draft lists from the Local Boards totalling 55,100 names were alphabetized and copied for binding.

LEGISLATIVE PAPERS

One hundred and thirty cases of Legislative Papers were classified and grouped by years. Legislative Papers from 1729 to 1778 were properly arranged.

COUNTY RECORDS

Two hundred and twenty-three cases and volumes of county records were added to the county records now in possession of the Historical Commission. The collection of one thousand and eighty-six cases and volumes from fifty counties were arranged for use and catalogued as follows:

COUNTY RECORDS IN ARCHIVES ROOM

BEAUFORT:	County Court Minutes, 1756-61.
BERTIE:	County Court Minutes, 1767-72; 1772-77; 1778-92; 1793-1801; 1802; 1803-05; 1805-07; 1808-13; 1813-18; 1818-22; 1822-32; 1832-41; 1842-43; 1842-53; 1853-67; 1868. Land Entries, 1778-96. Crown Dockets, 1762-65. Marriage Bonds.
BRUNSWICK:	County Court Minutes, 1782-1801; 1805-20; 1820-23; 1824-30; 1831-39; 1839-45; 1845-52; 1850-59; 1866-68. Marriage Bonds. Wills, 1781-1822; 1822-27; 1828-47. Public School Records, 1841-60. Register of Officers' bonds, 1796-1829.
BURKE:	County Court Minutes, 1807-18; 1818-29; 1830-34. Marriage Bonds. Court Papers, 1782-1842; 1783-1843. Wills, 1794-1866.
BUNCOMBE:	County Court Minutes, 1822-24. Trial Docket, 1796-1805. Marriage Records, 1851-1870.
BUTE:	County Court Minutes, 1767-76. Wills, 1764-79. Marriage Bonds. County Court Papers, 1765-69. Land Entries, 1778-79. Inventories of Estates, 1765-79.
CABARETUS:	Marriage Bonds.
CAMDEN:	County Court Minutes, 1855-68. Orphans' Accounts, 1800-09.

- CARTERET:** County Court Minutes, 1724-96; 1764-82; 1796-99; 1799-1804; 1804-13; 1813-20; 1820-24; 1824-26; 1826-27; 1821-30; 1831-37; 1837-45; 1840-41; 1842-45; 1845-48; 1849-52; 1852-58; 1858-68.
Marriage Bonds.
List of Taxables, 1802-1808; 1813-14; 1815-19.
Grants and Deeds, 1717-75.
Deeds, 1781-85.
County Court Dockets, 1730-84.
Miscellaneous Records, 1749-89.
- CASWELL:** Marriage Bonds.
- CHATHAM:** County Court Minutes, 1811-16.
- CHOWAN:** Records, 1685-1805.
County Court Petitions.
- COLUMBUS:** County Court Minutes, 1838-40.
- Craven:** Marriage Bonds.
- CUMBERLAND:** County Court Minutes, 1784-87; 1787-91; 1791-97; 1798-1800; 1801-04; 1805-08; 1808-10; 1811-12; 1810-16; 1817-18; 1819-20; 1820-22; 1823-27; 1827-31; 1830-32; 1831-35; 1836; 1836-38; 1838-39; 1838-40; 1840-42; 1841-43; 1842-44; 1844-46; 1849-51; 1849-52; 1852-55; 1854-56; 1856-59; 1857-60; 1860-65; 1863-66.
Public Road Records, 1825-39; 1840-56.
Tax Lists, 1777-80.
Equity Minute Docket, Fayetteville District Court, 1788-1829.
Marriage Bonds.
- CURRITUCK:** County Court Minutes, 1799-1803; 1803-30.
Marriage Bonds.
- DUPLIN:** County Court Minutes, 1784-91; 1793-1808; 1801-04; 1804-10; 1810-16; 1817-18; 1819-22; 1823-28; 1832-34; 1835-37; 1837-38; 1840-43; 1843-45; 1845-46; 1851-52.
Minutes of St. Gabriel's Parish, 1800-17.
Record of Assessments and Taxes by districts, 1783.
Marriage Bonds.
- EDGECOMBE:** County Court Minutes, 1784-90.
Sales and Inventories of Estates, 1735-53; 1764-72; 1792-94.
Marriage Bonds.
- FRANKLIN:** County Court Minutes, 1785-94; 1794-1800; 1800-05; 1803-10; 1810-13; 1814-17; 1820; 1820-23; 1819-21; 1820-24; 1822-24; 1825-27; 1831-36; 1836-40; 1840-44; 1844-47; 1847-53.
Lists of Taxables, 1804-22; 1823-36.
Deeds, 1797-99.
Marriage Bonds.

- GATES:** County Court Minutes, 1779-96; 1796-1815; 1815-20;
1830-58; 1833-41; 1851-54; 1859-68.
Trial and Reference Docket, 1784-86.
Court Papers and Settlements of Estates, 1786-1806.
Marriage Bonds.
- GUILFORD:** Marriage Bonds.
- GRANVILLE:** County Court Minutes, 1786-89; 1796-99; 1800-02; 1803-06; 1806-10; 1810-13; 1813-16; 1816-18; 1818-20.
Execution Docket, 1765-67.
Land Entries, 1778-85.
Trial Docket, 1764-67.
Books of Taxables, 1796-1802; 1803-09.
- HALIFAX:** County Court Minutes, 1784-87; 1796-99; 1799-1802; 1821-24.
Marriage Bonds.
Wills, 1735-1848.
Deeds, 1720-1850.
County Tax Book, 1784-1834.
Deeds, Edgecombe Precinct and County, Bertie Precinct, 1732-40. Halifax, 1759-1761.
County Trustees Records, 1826-51.
Inventories of Estates, 1773-79.
Superior District Court Records, 1783-1805.
- HAYWOOD:** Marriage Bonds.
- HYDE:** County Court Minutes, 1785-97; 1804-28.
Wills and Inventories of Estates, 1781-85.
Record of Land Entries, 1778-95.
- JOHNSTON:** Marriage Bonds.
- JONES:** County Court Minutes, 1816-25; 1826-32.
- LENOIR:** Miscellaneous Records, 1737-90; 1790-1818; 1818-1914.
- MCDOWELL:** Marriage Bonds.
- MECKLENBURG:** Marriage Bonds.
- NASH:** Marriage Bonds.
- NEW HANOVER:** County Court Minutes, 1734-71; 1772-89; 1771-1866.
Original Will Books (2), 1797-1816; 1830-48.
Inventories of Estates, 1758-1810.
List of Taxables, 1782.
Marriage Bonds.
- NORTHAMPTON:** County Court Minutes, 1787-1801; 1792-96; 1813-16; 1817-21; 1825-29; 1829-35; 1835-39; 1839-45; 1843-44; 1856-58; 1859-63; 1863-67; 1867-68.
Inventories of Estates, 1781-92.
Orphans' Estates, 1781-1801.
Marriage Bonds.

- ONslow:** County Court Minutes, 1734-71; 1772-89; 1789-98; 1798-1822; 1822-32; 1832-45; 1845-54; 1855-61; 1861-68.
Wills, 1757-83; 1774-90.
Marriage Bonds.
- ORANGE:** County Court Minutes, 1752-62; 1752-93; 1762-66; 1777-88; 1787-95; 1795-1800; 1800-04; 1805-09; 1810-14; 1815-18; 1818-22; 1822-26; 1826-31; 1831-35; 1836-39; 1840-45; 1845-47; 1847-51; 1852-56; 1854-57.
Marriage Bonds.
- PASQUOTANK:** Register of Births, Marriages and Deaths, 1691-1822.
Orphans' Court Minutes, 1757-85.
Will Books, 1762-93.
County Court Minutes, 1741-1868.
Marriage Bonds.
- PERQUIMANS:** Register of Births, Marriages and Deaths, 1658-1820.
Letters and Court Papers, 1702-1816; 1711-80.
Precinct Court Papers, 1688-93; 1735-38.
Inventories of Estates, Taxables and Titheables, 1715-98; 1715-1815.
County Court Minutes, 1735-74; 1784-89; 1794-1801.
Marriage Bonds.
Deeds, 1737-44; 1744-94; 1806-12; 1813-27.
Wills, 1711-1802; 1766-1808; 1776-1800.
- PERSON:** Marriage Bonds.
- PITT:** County Papers, 1761-1859.
County Court Minutes, 1855-61; 1862-67; 1867-68.
- ROBESON:** Marriage Bonds.
Court Documents.
- ROCKINGHAM:** County Court Minutes, 1786-95; 1796-1803; 1804-07.
Marriage Bonds.
- ROWAN:** Court Papers, 1750-1810.
Marriage Bonds.
- RUTHERFORD:** County Court Minutes, 1794-98; 1799-1802; 1803-06; 1806-10; 1813-17; 1808-19; 1813-19; 1820-21; 1821-25; 1825-30; 1831-37; 1838-44; 1862-68.
Marriage Bonds.
Wills, 1782-1833.
Guardians' Accounts, 1840-50.
Land Entries, 1791-1803.
- STOKES:** Marriage Bonds.
- TYRRELL:** County Court Minutes, 1735-61; 1761-82; 1783-98; 1798-1811; 1809-16; 1819-49; 1841-65; 1865-68.
Marriage Bonds.
Deeds, 1735-54; 1746-84; 1767-99.
Miscellaneous Court Records, 1756-86.

WAKE:	Marriage Bonds.
WARREN:	County Court Minutes, 1787-92; 1783-89; 1793-1800; 1787-1806; 1791-1815; 1800-05; 1801-05; 1806-14; 1823- 25; 1852-54. Marriage Bonds.
WASHINGTON:	Deeds, 1800-01.
WAYNE:	County Court Minutes, 1787-88. Wills, in 10 small books, 1787-1824; also original wills, 1781-1805. Inventories of Estates. Marriage Bonds (5) 1795. Marriage Licenses (2 books, indexed) 1851-61.
WILKES:	County Court Minutes, 1797. County Court Records, 1778-99. Marriage Bonds.

They consist of County Court Minutes, Deeds, Wills, Inventories, Tax Lists, and Marriage Bonds. These records are consulted daily by historical workers.

Several hundred thousand documents were handled in the above work. There is not a paper in our collection that has not been classified and made accessible to investigators.

HANDBOOK OF MANUSCRIPTS

A typewritten handbook, giving descriptions of manuscripts, similar to the Handbook of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress, has been systematically added to. The Handbook consists now of 187 pages and describes 137 collections.

CALENDARS

The following calendars are ready for publication:

- North Carolina Letters in the Van Buren Papers, 1824-1858.
- Hale Papers, 1850-1866.
- D. L. Swain Manuscripts, 1793-1868.
- North Carolina Letters from The Crittenden Papers, 1827-1863.
- Hayes Collection, 1728-1806.
- Spencer Papers, 1859-1902.
- William L. Saunders Manuscripts, 1866-1888.
- Dartmouth Manuscripts, 1720-1783.

REPAIRING OF MANUSCRIPTS

17,752 sheets have been repaired in various ways, as follows:

- 8,567 repaired with paper.
- 1,442 repaired with crepeline.
- 561 hinged with cloth.
- 12,904 mounted for binding.

- 88 pages inserted in books already bound.
- 25 clippings mounted for binding, on 80 sheets.
- 4 large maps mounted on cloth and hinged.

INDEX TO REVOLUTIONARY ARMY ACCOUNTS

The card index to the Revolutionary Army Accounts mentioned in previous reports has been copied and bound into five handy volumes. These indexes, together with those to the Colonial and State Records, give complete references to all available sources of information about North Carolina's soldiers in the Revolutionary War.

REVOLUTIONARY ROSTER

Under direction of the Secretary, Mr. Moses Amis is preparing from the above material a complete roster of North Carolina soldiers in the Revolutionary War.

INDEX TO HATHAWAY'S GENEALOGICAL REGISTER

Mr. R. D. W. Connor is preparing for the Commission a card index to Hathaway's Genealogical Register. This will give invaluable aid to genealogical investigators.

BINDING

Sixty-four volumes were bound as follows:

- Chowan County Papers, 1685-1805, I-XIX.
- Wills, Vol. IV, 1733-1752.
- Court Papers, District of Edenton, 1751-1787.
- General Court Papers, Vols. I-II, 1690-1754.
- Vice Admiralty Papers, Vols. I-IV, 1697-1759.
- Customs House Papers, Port of Roanoke, Vols. I-II, 1682-1775.
- Albemarle County Papers, Secretary's Office, 1678-1739, Vols. I-II.
- Granville District Papers, Land Office Records, 1744-1763.
- Governors' Papers, State Series, 1787-1814, Vols. XVI-XLI.
- Lenoir County Papers, Lovitt Hines Collection, 1737-1914, Vols. I-III.
- World War Records, R. B. House Papers, 1916-1920, Vols. I-II.

PUBLICATIONS

The following publications have come from the press:

- Bulletin 27. The Eighth Biennial Report of the Secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission, December 1, 1918-November 30, 1920. Paper. 40 pp.
- Bulletin 28. Proceedings of the Twentieth and Twenty-first Annual Sessions of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina, 1920 and 1921. Paper. 128 pp.
- North Carolina Manual for 1921. Compiled and edited by R. D. W. Connor. Cloth. 486 pp.

Papers of Thomas Ruffin. Compiled and edited by J. G. deR. Hamilton.
Vol. III. Cloth. 464 pp. Vol. IV. Cloth. 403 pp.

DeGraffenried's Account of the Founding of New Bern. Edited by
Vincent H. Todd in co-operation with Julius Goebel. Cloth. 434 pp.

Records of the Moravians in North Carolina. Edited by Adelaide L.
Fries. Vol. I. Cloth. 511 pp.

PUBLICATION OF WORLD WAR RECORDS

In co-operation with the Superintendent of Public Instruction, the
Collector of War Records, R. B. House, wrote and published the North
Carolina Day Program for 1921, this being a brief history of North
Carolina in the World War. Paper. 72 pp.

For the County Commissioners of Caswell County he edited and pub-
lished Caswell County in the World War. Paper. 350 pp.

USE OF RECORDS

One hundred and fifteen people came in person to consult the records
in the Commission's archives. Three expert genealogists have also been
constantly employed in making researches for people in all parts of
the country. While genealogical information has been most frequently
sought, the following subjects have been worked out from records in
our possession:

John Motley Morehead and the Development of North Carolina, 1796-1866.
By Burton Alva Konkle, with an introduction by Hon. H. G. Connor. Cloth.
437 pp. Philadelphia, Campbell, 1922.

The Negro in North Carolina to 1860. Thesis of R. H. Taylor, graduate
student at the University of Michigan.

Union Sentiment in North Carolina During the Civil War. Thesis of Miss
Mary Shannon Smith, Columbia University.

Willie P. Mangum. Thesis of Miss Penelope McDuffie, Columbia University.

Ratification of the Federal Constitution. Thesis of Miss Louise Irby,
Columbia University.

The Farmers Alliance. Special research by Dr. J. D. Hicks, Professor of
History, North Carolina College for Women.

History of Education in North Carolina. Special research by Prof. M. C. S.
Noble, University of North Carolina.

Special research in educational documents by Dr. E. W. Knight, University
of North Carolina.

North Carolina Wills. Research by F. W. Clontz, Yale University.

William R. Davie, special research by R. D. W. Connor, University of
North Carolina.

North Carolina in the World War. R. B. House, in conjunction with the
Department of Public Instruction.

ACCESSIONS

ADDITIONS TO FORMER COLLECTIONS

From one to a dozen pieces were added to the following collections of private papers: Thomas Person, John Williams, Martin Howard, William Gaston, Joseph Burton, James C. Dobbin, George E. Badger, John Branch, Benjamin Hawkins, D. H. Hill, Z. B. Vance, James Phillips, Nathaniel Macon, Griffith Rutherford, Joseph Benton, Abner Nash, L. O'B. Branch, Richard Caswell, Nicholas Long, William Polk, R. D. Catlin, T. H. Holmes.

More numerous and important additions are as follows:

JOHN HERITAGE BRYAN PAPERS.—To this collection of John Heritage Bryan, Colonel J. Bryan Grimes has added 147 pieces, dating from 1798 to 1870, adding interesting and valuable data to this important historical and biographical collection.

WALTER CLARK PAPERS.—To this collection of his personal papers Chief Justice Walter Clark has added 1,063 pieces. This brings the total of this valuable collection to 5,032 pieces.

WALTER CLARK MANUSCRIPTS.—To this collection of valuable historical manuscripts, Chief Justice Clark has added 569 pieces, making a total in this collection of 1,768 pieces.

WILLIAM A. GRAHAM PAPERS.—To this collection of his father's papers, Major W. A. Graham has added 351 pieces, dating from 1776 to 1875.

EXECUTIVE PAPERS.—11,000 papers were added to the papers of North Carolina Governors, as follows: Holden, Vance, Brogden, Jarvis, Fowle, Aycock, Glenn, Craig, and Bickett. Thirty-one letter-books were added to our collections, and six warrant books. These have been noted above.

CIVIL WAR PAPERS.—From Captain E. M. Michaux, Goldsboro, were received 2,500 pieces of Civil War material, including 500 telegrams, 1861-1865. Quartermaster Returns 26th Regiment, 1861-1865;¹ Muster Rolls 26th Regiment, 1862-1864. Band and Hospital service. From Dr. H. T. King, a roster of Pitt County soldiers, 1860-1865, 60 pp. mss.

PAPERS FROM STATE OFFICES.—The following papers and volumes were received from various State offices:

Secretary of State, 1729-1905, 4,900 pieces.

Treasurer, Comptroller, and Auditor, 1790-1870, 33 volumes, 7,900 pieces.

Customs House Papers, 900 pieces, 1788-1790.

¹ Presented by Mrs. John M. Ellington and Mr. Cadmus Young, Polenta.

COUNTY RECORDS.—223 cases and volumes were received from the following counties: Bute, Buncombe, Brunswick, Carteret, Cumberland, Duplin, Halifax, New Hanover, Northampton, Orange, Robeson, Wayne. This swells our county collection to 1,088 cases and volumes covered in the list above.

MAPS.—The following maps were received:

Map of the United States with insert of North Carolina, 1804.

Plan of Wilmington, 1769. From Dr. Charles M. Andrews.

London in Miniature, Edward Mogg, 1829. From Mrs. Pattie D. B. Arrington.

WORLD WAR RECORDS, 1914-1919

INDIVIDUAL RECORDS—ARMY—300.—North Carolina War Service Records (World War), 1914-1919. Compiled by Daughters of the American Revolution. Cloth. 2 Vols. 885 pp. Local Board Lists of Inducted men from North Carolina, alphabetized by race, names, and counties, for binding—a list of about 55,100 names. In conjunction with the Adjutant-General we have also a card index to all service men from North Carolina by all classes. This list contains over 90,000 names.

INDIVIDUAL RECORDS—NAVY—4.

INDIVIDUAL RECORDS—AIR SERVICE—4.

DESERTERS.—A complete file to date of the deserters from North Carolina, as published by the War Department and the Congressional Record.

SOLDIERS' LETTERS—120.—George W. Alston, Joseph A. Bumpus, Robert W. Winston, Jr., and Collier Cobb, Jr.

PHOTOGRAPHS—50.

HISTORY OF NORTH CAROLINA UNITS.—Base Hospital 65.

30TH DIVISION.—Field Orders 2nd Army Corps—1 volume, also 2 volumes manuscript.

Calendar of Records of 30th Division in the files of the Historical Section, Army War College, MSS. 60 pp.

Calendar of Records of 60th Brigade, 30th Division, in the files of the Historical Section, Army War College, MSS. 14 pp.

Calendar of Records of 105th Sanitary Train, in the files of the Historical Section, Army War College, MSS. 1 p.

Calendar of Records of the 10th Field Squad Battalion, in the files of the Historical Section, Army War College, MSS. 2 pp.

Calendar of Records of the 105th Supply Train, in the files of the Historical Section, Army War College, MSS. 1 p.

Calendar of Records of the 105th Engineers, in the files of the Historical Section, Army War College, MSS. 10 pp.

Calendar of Records of 113th Field Artillery, in the files of the Historical Section, Army War College, MSS. 1 p.

Calendar of Records of 115th Machine Gun Battalion, in the files of the Historical Section, Army War College, MSS. 2 pp.

Calendar of Records of the 105th Train Headquarters, in the files of the Historical Section, Army War College, MSS. 1 p.

Calendar of Records of the 119th Infantry, in the files of the Historical Section, Army War College, MSS. 7 pp.

Calendar of Records of the 120th Infantry, in the files of the Historical Section, Army War College, MSS. 3 pp.

113th Field Artillery, about 10,000 original records, 1916-1919.

113th Machine Gun Battalion. Calendar of Records, Army War College, MSS. 2 pp.

117th Engineer Train. Calendar of Records in Army War College, MSS. 15 pp.

AMERICAN LEGION.—Complete file of American Legion Weekly to date. Complete file of papers Department of North Carolina.

RED CROSS.—History of following chapters: Englehard, Hyde County; Greensboro; Hillsboro.

WAR SAVINGS.—200 pieces from Miss Kate Herring.

Y. M. C. A.—Report of Greensboro Y. M. C. A., April 1917-July, 1920.

COUNTY WAR HISTORY.—Granville, Vol., 214 pp.; Chowan, 300 pieces; Halifax, 200 pieces; Caswell, Vol., 350 pp.; Brunswick, 200 pieces; Union, 60 pp. MSS.

WOMEN IN THE WAR.—Women's Committee, Council of Defence, 15 pp. MSS.

MISCELLANEOUS.—

Pamphlets—2,000.

War Poetry—100 pieces.

Mrs. R. O. Burton, Scrap Book—10,000 clippings.

NEWSPAPERS.—In addition to the E. Burke Haywood collection of Civil War newspapers, systematic search for North Carolina newspapers prior to 1800 has been prosecuted. Through the courtesy of the Library of Congress in making photostats of papers in its possession, the Massachusetts Historical Society in making photostat positives

under an arrangement made in 1920, and the University of North Carolina Library in lending volumes and odd numbers of papers, the Historical Commission now has 652 numbers as follows:

WASHINGTON FEDERALIST
Rind & Prentiss, Washington, D. C.

YEAR	No.	DATE	REMARKS
1801	182	November 25	Pages 1 and 2.

THE VIRGINIA GAZETTE
John Dixon & William Hunter

1775	1272	December 23	Pages 1 and 2.
1778	1415	May 15	

THE NORTH CAROLINA JOURNAL
Abraham Hodge, Halifax

1794	80	January	22	
	104	July	9	
	120	November	3	
1795	130	January	12	
	132		26	
	170	October	19	
1796	181	January	4	
	183		18	
	184		25	
	185	February	1	
	186		8	
	187		15	
	190	March	7	
	191		14	
	192		21	
	193		28	
	194	April	4	and extra.
	195		11	
	196		18	
	197		25	
	198	May	2	
	200		16	
	201	May	23	
	202		30	
	203	June	6	
	205		20	
	206		27	
	208	July	11	
	209		18	
	210		25	
	211	August	1	
	212		8	
	213		15	
	214		22	
	215		29	
	216	September	5	
	217		12	
	218		19	and mutilated original.

YEAR	No.	DATE	REMARKS
1798	219	October	3
	221		10
	222		17
	223		24
	224		31
	225	November	7
	226		14
	227		21
	228		28
	229	December	5
	230		12
			Pages 2, 3 and 4 missing.

THE NORTH CAROLINA GAZETTE

James Davis, Newbern

1753		July	?	Pages 1 and 2 missing. The original is crepe-lined.
1757	103	April	15	
1759	200	October	18	
1768	5	June	24	
1769	73	November	10	
1774	...	July	15	Pages 1 and 2 missing.
	287	September	2	
1775	312	February	24	
	316	March	24	
	318	April	7	
	322	May	5	
	323		12	
	328	June	16	
	330		30	
	331	July	7	
	332		14	
	344	October	6	Pages 3 and 4 mutilated.
		December	22	Pages 1 and 4 missing.
		July	4	Mutilated.
1777	383	July	11	
	384		18	
	385		25	
	386		1	
	387	August	8	
	388		15	
	389		22	
	390		29	
	391		5	
	392	September	12	
	393		19	
	394		26	
	395		3	
	396	October	10	
	397		17	Pages 3 and 4.
	398		24	
	399		31	
	400		7	and Supplement, 1 page.
	401	November	14	
	402		21	
	403		28	
	404		5	
	405	December	12	
	406		26	
	408			

YEAR	NO.	DATE	REMARKS
1778	109	January	2
	410		9
	411		16
	412		23
	413		30
	414	February	6
	415		13
	416		20
	418	March	6
	419		13
	421		27
	422	April	3
	423		10
	425		24
	426	May	1
	427		8
	428		15
	429		22
	430		29
	431	June	6
	432		13
	433		19 Pages 3 and 4.
	434		26
	435	July	3 Mutilated.
	436		10
	437		17
	438		24
	439		31
	440	August	7
	441		14
	442		21
	443		28
	444	September	4
	445		11
	446		18
	447		25
	448	October	2
	449		9
	450		16
	453	November	7
	454		14
	455		20
	456		30

(The following are printed by F. X. Martin)

1790	221	April	1
	223		15
1791	282	June	4
	286	July	2
	288		16
	298	September	24
1793	304	November	5
	405	October	12
	406		19
1794	417	January	4
	439	June	7
1795	474	February	14
	475		21
	487	May	23
	488		30

YEAR	No.	DATE	REMARKS
1795	489	June 6	
	491	20	
	493	July 4	
	494	11	
	510	October 24	Pages 3 and 4 mutilated.
	511	31	
	512	November 7	
	513	14	
	519	December 26	
1796	519	January 2	
	526	February 13	
	528	27	
	...	March ..	Pages 1 and 2 mutilated.
	533	April 2	
	534	9	Pages 3 and 4 mutilated.
	537	30	
	539	May 14	
	540	21	
	541	23	
	542	June 5	
	543	12	
	544	18	Pages 2 and 3 missing.
	545	25	
	546	July 2	
	547	9	
	548	16	
	551	August 6	
	553	20	
	555	September 3	
	556	10	
	557	17	
	559	October 1	
	560	8	
	562	22	
	563	29	
	564	November 5	
	565	12	
	566	19	
	567	26	
	568	December 3	Pages 3 and 4 mutilated.
	569	10	
	570	17	
1797	572	31	
	573	January 7	
	575	21	Slightly blotted.
	576	28	
	577	February 4	
	580	25	
	582	March 11	
	583	18	
	584	25	
	586	April 8	
	587	15	
	603	August 5	

MARTIN'S NORTH CAROLINA GAZETTE
F. X. Martin, Newbern

1787	80	July	11
	85	August	15
	103	December	19

THE STATE GAZETTE OF NORTH CAROLINA
Hodge & Blanchard, Newbern

YEAR	NO.	DATE	REMARKS
1787	99	October 4	
	105	November 15	Pages 1 and 4.
1788	117	February 7	Mutilated—printed by Hodge & Wills.
	124	March 27	Slightly mutilated, crepelled.

THE NEWBERN GAZETTE
John C. Osborn & Co., Newbern

1798	34	November 24	
	35	December 1	
	36		8
	37		15
	38		22
	39		29
			Slightly mutilated, pages 3 and 4 are missing.
1799	41	January 12	
	43		26
	44	February 2	
	45		9
	46		16
	47		23
	48	March 2	
	49		9
	50		16
	68	July 20	
1800	111	May 23	Printed by John S. Pasteur. Pages 1 and 2 mutilated.
	123	August 15	

THE NORTH CAROLINA MINERVA AND FAYETTEVILLE ADVERTISER
Hodge & Boylan, Fayetteville

1796	2	March 31	
	5	April 21	
	8	May 12	
	12	June 9	
	13		16
	14		23
	15		30
	16	July 9	
	18		23
	19		30
	21	August 13	Pages 3 and 4 mutilated.
	22		Pages 3 and 4 mutilated.
	22		Pages 1 and 2 mutilated.
	23		27
	24	September 3	
	25		10
	26		17
	27		24
	28	October 1	
	30		15
	31		22
	32		29
	33	November 5	
	34		12
	35		19
	36		26
			Pages 3 and 4 mutilated.

YEAR	No.	DATE	REMARKS
1796	37	December	3
	41		31
1797	42	January	7
	44		21
	45		28
	46	February	4 Pages 3 and 4 mutilated.
	47		11
	48		18
	49		25 Pages 3 and 4 mutilated.
	50	March	4
	51		11
	52		18
	53		25
	54	April	1
	55		8
	56		15
	60	May	13
	63	June	3
	64		10
	85	November	4
	87		18
1798	99	February	10
	100		17
	102	March	3
	105		24
	112	May	12
	113		19
	117	June	16
	118		23
	119		30
	120	July	7
	125	August	11
	137	November	3
	139		17
	141	December	1
	143		15
1799	149	January	26
	151	February	9
	156	March	16
	157		23

THE NORTH CAROLINA SENTINEL AND FAYETTEVILLE GAZETTE
Thomas Connoly & Co., Fayetteville

1795	9	July	25	
	11	August	8	
	12		15	
	14		29	Published by J. V. Lewis and T. Connoly.

THE NORTH CAROLINA CHRONICLE; OR FAYETTEVILLE GAZETTE
Sibley & Howard, Fayetteville

1790	23	February	1
	3(35)	May	10
	37		24
	38		31
	39	June	7
	45	July	19

FAYETTEVILLE GAZETTE
Sibley & Howard, Fayetteville

YEAR	No.	DATE	REMARKS
1789	1	August 24	Pages 3 and 4 mutilated, crepelled.
	4	September 14	
	5	21	
	8	October 12	

FAYETTEVILLE GAZETTE
Alexander Martin, for John Sibley

1792	1	August 7	
	8	September 25	
	9	October 2	
	10	9	
	11	16	
	12	23	
	13	30	
	14	November 6	
	17	27	
	19	December 11	
1793	12	January 2	
	32	March 5	
	33	12	
	41	May 21	
	42	28	
	43	June 4	
	65	November 19	Printed by Laucelot A. Mullin for John Sibley.

HALL'S WILMINGTON GAZETTE

1797	6	February 9	
	7	16	
	9	March 2	
	12	23	and extra of 2 pages.
	13	30	
	14	April 6	
	16	20	
	23	June 8	
	35	August 24	
	37	September 7	
	39	28	
	40	October 5	
	42	12	
	43	26	
	44	November 3	
1798	58	February 8	
	60	22	
	62	March 8	
	65	29	
	67	April 12	
	74	May 31	
	77	June 21	
	87	August 30	
	93	October 11	
	97	November 15	
	99	29	

THE WILMINGTON GAZETTE
Allmand Hall, Wilmington

YEAR	No.	DATE	REMARKS
1799	113	March 7	
	117	April 4	
	119	19	
	127	June 13	
	135	August 8	
	139	September 5	
	143	October 3	
	144	10	
	145	17	
	147	31	
	153	December 12	

THE NORTH CAROLINA GAZETTE
Andrew Stuart, Wilmington

1766	70	February 12	Pages 2 and 3 missing.
	72	26	
No date	59	November 27	Continuation of the North Carolina Gazette.

THE CAPE FEAR MERCURY
A. Boyd, Wilmington

1766	7	November 24	
1773	156	January 13	Pages 3 and 4 missing.
	190	September 3	
	204	December 29	
1774	223	May 11	Pages 3 and 4 mutilated.
	?	?	One sheet of what appears to be above paper.
1775	266	July 28	
	267	August 7	
	268	11	
	269	25	
	270	September 1	

THE WILMINGTON SENTINEL, AND GENERAL ADVERTISER
Bowen & Howard, Wilmington

1788	16	June 18	
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THE WILMINGTON CHRONICLE AND NORTH CAROLINA WEEKLY
ADVERTISER

James Carey, Wilmington

1795	1	July 3	
	2	10	
	3	17	
	5	31	
	13	September 24	
1796	Torn	October 22	
	4	February 4	Printed by John Bellew.
	14	April 14	
	4	August 4	

THE STATE GAZETTE OF NORTH CAROLINA
Hodge & Wills, Edenton

YEAR	No.	DATE	REMARKS
1788	140	September 8	
	141	15	
	142	22	
	143	29	
	144	October 6	
	145	13	
	146	20	
	147	27	
	148	November 3	
	149	10	
	150	November 17	
	151	24	
	152	December 4	
	153	11	
	154	18	
	155	25	
1789	156	January 1	
	157	8	
	158	15	
	159	22	
	160	29	
	161	February 5	
	162	12	
	163	19	
	164	26	
	165	March 5	
	166	12	
	167	19	
	168	26	
	169	April 2	
	170	9	
	171	16	
	172	23	
	173	30	
	174	May 7	
	175	14	
	176	21	
	177	28	
	178	June 4	
	179	11	
	180	18	
	181	25	
	182	July 2	
	183	9	
	184	16	
	185	23	
	186	30	
	187	August 6	
	188	13	
	189	20	
	190	27	
	191	Sept. 3	
	192	10	
	193	17	
	194	24	
	195	October 1	
	196	8	
	197	15	
	198	22	
	199	29	

YEAR	No.	DATE	REMARKS
1789	200	November 5	
	201	12	
	202	19	
	203	26	
	204	December 4	
	205	10	
	206	17	
	207	24	
	208	31	
1790	209	January 7	
	210	16	
	211	23	Mutilated.
	212	30	
	213	February 6	
	214	13	
	215	20	
	216	27	
	217	March 6	
	218	13	
	219	20	
	220	27	
	221	April 3	Pages 1 and 4.
	222	10	
	223	17	
	224	24	
	225	May 1	
	226	8	
	227	15	
	228	21	
	229	28	
	230	June 4	
	231	11	
	232	18	
	233	25	
	234	July 2	
	235	9	
	236	16	
	237	23	
	238	30	
	239	August 6	
	240	13	
	241	20	
	242	27	
	243	September 3	
	245	17	
	246	24	
	247	October 1	
	248	8	
	249	15	
	250	22	
	251	29	
	252	November 5	
	253	12	
	254	19	
	255	26	
	258	December 17	
	260	31	
1791	261	January 7	
	262	14	
	263	21	
	264	28	

YEAR	No.	DATE	REMARKS
1791	265	February 4	Pages 3 and 4.
	266	11	
	267	18	
	268	25	
	270	March 11	
	271	18	
	272	25	
	273	April 1	
	274	8	
	275	15	
	283	June 10	
	284	17	
	285	24	
	287	July 8	
	294	August 26	
	295	September 2	
	296	9	
	297	16	
	298	23	
	304	November 11	
1792	324	March 30	
1793	382	May 11	
	384	25	
	385	June 1	
	396	August 17	
	401	September 21	
	404	October 12	
	413	December 14	Printed by Henry Wills.
1794	416	January 4	
	420	31	
	421	February 7	
	433	May 2	
1795	475	February 19	
	476	26	
	485	April 30	
	487	May 14	
	488	21	
	489	28	
	490	June 4	Pages 3 and 4 mutilated.
	491	11	Pages 3 and 4 mutilated.
	497	July 23	
	498	30	
	504	Sept. 10	
	518	December 17	
	519	24	
1796	522	January 14	
	525	February 4	
	529	March 3	
	531	17	
	532	24	
	533	31	
	536	April 21	
	537	28	
	540	May 19	
	542	June 2	Extra, with pages 1 and 4 mutilated; 3 and 4 missing.
	542	9	
	544	16	
	546	30	

YEAR	No.	DATE	REMARKS
1796	546	July 7	
	547	14	
	548	21	
	549	28	
	550	August 5	
	551	11	
	552	18	
	553	25	
	554	September 1	
	555	8	
	556	15	
	557	22	
	558	29	
	559	October 6	
	560	13	
	561	20	
	562	27	
	563	November 3	
	564	10	
	565	17	
	567	December 1	
	? 563	22	
	? 564	29	
1797	572	January 5	
	573	12	and supplement, only 2 pages.
	574	19	
	575	26	
	577	February 9	
	578	16	
	579	23	
	580	March 2	
	581	9	
	582	16	
	583	23	
	584	30	
	586	April 13	and extra, 1 page.
	587	20	
	591	May 18	
	594	June 8	
	596	22	and supplement of 2 pages.
	597	29	
	599	July 13	
	601	27	
	603	August 10	
	606	31	
	607	September 7	
	608	14	
	610	28	
	611	October 5	Pages 2 and 3 missing.

STATE GAZETTE OF NORTH CAROLINA
James Wills, Edenton

1797	615	November 2	
	622	December 21	
1798	626	January 18	
	628	February 1	
	632	March 1	
	642	May 10	
	644	24	
	645	31	

YEAR	No.	DATE	REMARKS
1798	650	July 4	Pages 3 and 4 mutilated.
	652	18	
	655	August 8	
	658	29	
	668	October 31	
	674	December 26	
1799	675	January 2	
	672	23	
	673	30	
	674	February 6	
	676	20	

THE EDENTON INTELLIGENCER
Maurice Murphy, Edenton

1788 25 April 9

THE HERALD OF FREEDOM
James Wills, Edenton

1799 680 March 27
684 May 1

THE POST-ANGEL, OR UNIVERSAL ENTERTAINMENT
Printed for Robert Archibald by Joseph Beasley, Edenton

1800 2 September 10 4 pages.
9 November 12

THE NORTH CAROLINA MINERVA, AND RALEIGH ADVERTISER
Hodge & Boylan, Raleigh

1799 163 May 28
169 July 9
176 August 27
178 September 10
182 October 8
185 29
189 November 26
1800 March 11 Extra.
226 August 12

THE NORTH CAROLINA MINERVA
Hodge & Boylan, Raleigh

1800 245 December 23

THE NORTH CAROLINA GAZETTE
Robert Ferguson, for Thomas Davis, Hillsborough

1786 February 16 Number torn off.

THE NORTH CAROLINA MERCURY AND SALISBURY ADVERTISER
Francis Coupee

1799 62 June 27

NEW COLLECTIONS

FREDERICK NASH PAPERS.—From Assistant Attorney-General Frank Nash the Commission received the papers of Chief Justice Frederick Nash, 1781-1858, 25 pieces.

TAZEWELL HARGROVE PAPERS.—Mr. W. Stamps Howard of Tarboro gave to the Commission the Tazewell C. Hargrove collection of autographs of members of the North Carolina Secession Convention, 1861.

T. D. HOGG PAPERS.—From Miss Sallie Dortch of Raleigh the Commission received 2,000 pieces of miscellaneous Civil War material, the property of her grandfather, Major T. D. Hogg.

DAVID CLARK PAPERS.—Chief Justice Walter Clark gave to the Historical Commission 19 letters of his father, General David Clark, relating to the defenses of the Roanoke River, 1860.

E. BURKE HAYWOOD COLLECTION OF CIVIL WAR NEWSPAPERS.—From Mr. Ernest Haywood of Raleigh the Historical Commission received the following collection of newspapers, deposited as a memorial to his father and mother, Dr. E. Burke Haywood and Mrs. Lucy A. Haywood. The collection includes:

DAILY SENTINEL of Raleigh, 10 vols., 1865-1870.

RALEIGH STANDARD, 9 vols., 1859-1866.

RALEIGH REGISTER, 5 vols., 1850-1868.

RALEIGH STATE JOURNAL, 1 vol., 1860-1865.

RALEIGH DAILY CONSERVATIVE, 1 vol., 1864-1865.

RALEIGH PROGRESS, 1 vol., 1862-1865.

RALEIGH DAILY CONFEDERATE, 1 vol., 1864-1865.

RICHMOND ENQUIRER, 2 vols., 1863-1864.

RICHMOND SENTINEL, 1 vol., 1863-1864.

RICHMOND EXAMINER, 3 vols., 1861-1865.

NORTH CAROLINA PRESBYTERIAN (Fayetteville), 1 vol., 1858-1863.

NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER (Washington, D. C.), 9 vols., 1840-1859.

DIARY OF CATHARINE ANN EDMONDSTON.—From Mrs. Katherine Devereux Mackay the Historical Commission received the diary of Mrs. Catharine Ann Edmondston, daughter of Thomas Pollock Devereux and Catharine Ann Devereux of Raleigh. The diary is in four volumes. It deals with daily happenings on the plantation, Haseosea, near Scotland Neck, North Carolina, and with the general progress of the Civil War. It covers the dates 1860-1866.

DRURY LACY LETTERS.—From Col. J. Bryan Grimes the Historical Commission received a collection of 40 letters written by Rev. Charles Phillips of Chapel Hill to Rev. Drury Lacy of Raleigh. The letters

cover the year 1883, and form a chapter in a correspondence that continued from 1849 till about 1884 between these two friends.

DICKSON LETTERS.—From Mr. R. K. Bryan, Scotts Hill, N. C., the Commission received 10 letters written by William Dickson, Duplin County, N. C., to his cousin, Robert Dickson, in Ireland. The letters cover the years 1784-1790, and give a true picture of the closing years of the Revolution.

WOOD JOHN HAMLIN PAPERS.—This collection of 278 letters was secured by purchase. They cover the years 1762-1835, and deal with business and plantation affairs on the estate of Wood John Hamlin in Halifax County.

REGISTER OF LICENTIATES.—Board of Medical Examiners of North Carolina, 1 vol., 1859-1920. Deposited by Dr. Kemp P. Battle.

AUTOGRAPH OF JOHN HANCOCK.—From Mr. Owen Kenan, Wilmington.

HOGG DEEDS.—13 pieces from Mrs. C. A. Shore, Raleigh.

NORTH CAROLINA RECORDS IN LONDON

In the summer of 1922 Mr. R. D. W. Connor searched the records of North Carolina in the British Public Record Office and the British Museum. The notable results of Mr. Connor's search may be seen in the following brief report:

CHAPEL HILL, N. C., November 17, 1922.

DR. D. H. HILL, *Secretary,*
The North Carolina Historical Commission,
Raleigh, N. C.

DEAR DR. HILL:—In accordance with the request of the North Carolina Historical Commission that I go to London to examine the collections in the British Public Record Office and the British Museum to ascertain whether they contain any documents of importance to the colonial history of North Carolina of which the State does not now have copies, I sailed from New York June 17th and spent the eight weeks from June 26th to August 19th in London at work in the two above mentioned institutions.

The chief depository of material bearing on Colonial America is the British Public Record Office, where my work was mostly done. The greater portion of the North Carolina material deposited there has been printed in the Colonial and State Records of North Carolina, but much valuable material remains to be copied. How much there is of such material I cannot say, because the collections are so large that

in the time at my disposal I could not possibly make a complete examination of them. The series of Colonial Office Papers alone embraces 1,742 volumes and bundles of manuscripts. It was perfectly obvious, therefore, that in eight weeks I could examine but a few, comparatively, of the hundreds of volumes that might contain North Carolina material. I decided accordingly to examine in each collection a sufficient number of volumes to enable me to determine three things, namely:

1. Whether they contain unpublished material of importance to our history;
2. The character and scope of that material;
3. The best method of obtaining copies of it.

Altogether I made such an examination of 371 volumes and bundles in the following collections, which are described in Andrew's "Guide," in the volume and on the pages indicated in parentheses following each title:

State Papers, Foreign, and Foreign Office Papers (I, 18-41).

State Papers, Domestic, and Home Office Papers (I, 42-74).

Colonial Office Papers (I, 78-267).

Admiralty Papers (II, 1-65).

Audit Office, Declared Papers (II, 66-78).

Audit Office, Declared Accounts (II, 79-105).

Lord Chamberlain Papers (II, 107-108).

Treasury Papers (II, 136-269).

War Office Papers (II, 270-303).

In each of the volumes, or bundles, which I examined, I listed the documents which bear directly on North Carolina, and I attach hereto a check-list of those documents. Many of the documents on this list are printed in the Colonial Records, but I have not had time yet to check them up completely. Those which I have checked have been marked out. I have thus checked through the first 44 pages of the attached list; some of the documents which I have not marked out may be in the Colonial Records, but if so I have not been able to locate them. An examination of this list will show that there is still a vast amount of material bearing on the colonial history of North Carolina which is not in print, but it is impossible now to say what the extent of this material is. For instance, the first 57 pages of the attached list contain the North Carolina material found in 109 volumes and bundles of Colonial Office Papers; but there are 1,633 volumes and bundles in the series which I did not examine.

The attached list reveals four classes of documents which, it seems to me, are important to our history, namely:

1. Documents dealing directly with North Carolina and North Carolinians.
2. Documents bearing upon territory formerly but not now embraced within the limits of North Carolina.
3. Documents dealing with matters of common interest to all the American colonies, or to two or more including North Carolina, but which do not refer to specific colonies.
4. Documents concerning individuals connected with the history of North Carolina, but concerning them either before such connection began or after it ceased.

The final point to be considered is the best procedure to be followed for procuring copies of this material. It will be a simple matter to employ the services of expert copyists in London at reasonable rates of compensation, but the chief problem will be to select the documents to be copied. These are scattered through hundreds of volumes and bundles of manuscripts, each of which contains papers bearing on many different subjects. There will be no difficulty in regard to documents which bear on their face the colony to which they refer, but hundreds of them must be selected from their subject matter. This, of course, will require some knowledge of Colonial American history, if not of North Carolina history, on the part of the person making the selections. It seems to me, therefore, that the Commission must decide upon one of two courses:

First, to send to London a member of the staff of the Commission with instructions to make an examination of every volume and every bundle (except those I have already examined) and list every document bearing on our history sufficiently directly to make it advisable for us to have a copy of it. If this is done, such person ought to be instructed within the field. Such a procedure would, of course, involve a rather long residence in England—at least a year; perhaps longer—and considerable expense. The alternative, it seems to me, is

Secondly, to draw from the data which I have already collected general instructions describing the kinds of material wanted, and trust to some carefully selected agent resident in England to make the selections under such guidance. A large percentage of the material would be obvious; the doubtful material might be listed by descriptive titles and submitted to the Commission for instructions, though this would, of course, involve extra handling of the documents and extra expense. Under this plan many documents of which we ought to have copies would doubtless be overlooked, but the work could be done probably at less expense than would be involved in the first plan suggested above.

Finally, whatever is done ought to be done as soon as possible. Many of these documents—among them some of the most important—are in

very bad condition and are rapidly disintegrating under the constant handling to which they are being subjected. This is especially true of the American Loyalists Papers, which are of the utmost value for the social, economic, political and military history of North Carolina during the American Revolution. For a description of these papers see the attached check-list under the head "Audit Office Papers." Many of these documents are so rotten that they cannot be handled even with the utmost care without damage.

In conclusion, I must not omit to say that whatever the Commission decides to do about these documents, it may expect to receive the fullest and heartiest co-operation of the officials of the Public Record Office.

Very truly yours,

R. D. W. CONNOR.

HISTORICAL MARKERS

A committee of citizens in New Hanover County formed an association to mark the southwest salient of Fort Fisher. A bronze marker was placed on the site of this salient to preserve the memory of its location and importance in this historic fort.

STORY OF THE COUNTIES

Col. Fred A. Olds wrote and published, through the courtesy of the *Orphans Friend*, Oxford, N. C., "A Story of the Counties of North Carolina, with Other Data." Paper, 64 pp. The Historical Commission distributed 2,500 of these invaluable pamphlets.

HALL OF HISTORY

I submit herewith the report of the Collector for the Hall of History, and call your special attention to the fine collection of World War relics known as the Colonel Joseph Hyde Pratt Collection. The Museum has been kept open every day of the past biennium, and 315 classes of school children received lectures there on North Carolina history. Thousands of visitors have viewed the collections.

REPORT OF THE COLLECTOR FOR THE HALL OF HISTORY

RALEIGH, N. C., December 1, 1922.

DR. D. H. HILL, *Secretary*:

I beg leave to submit herewith my report as Collector for the Hall of History for the period December 1, 1920-November 30, 1922:

The search for relics and documents during the past two years has yielded rich returns, in great variety, covering all periods of North

Carolina's history, and it has been made in practically all the counties, the only exception being those created since 1865, which present no field for such activities.

Special efforts, extremely successful, were made to complete the notable collection of county records, including marriage bonds. Records from Bute (extinct since 1779), Duplin, Halifax, Buncombe, Northampton, Carteret, Robeson, Cumberland, Wayne, New Hanover, Brunswick, and Orange, were secured, and marriage bonds from Bute, Warren, Rowan, Brunswick, Pasquotank, New Hanover, and Robeson. In some cases the existence of this material was not known by the county officials. Records of births, marriages, and deaths in Pasquotank (formed in 1672) were brought in from 1685.

Colonial relics in great variety form a notable addition to the collection in the Hall of History. Revolutionary relics from the battlefields of Moore's Creek, Ramseur's Mill, King's Mountain, Guilford Court House, and from other sources, including John Penn's Diary, have been added.

Indian relics from Lake Mattamuskeet and other points have been brought in and installed; also many which illustrate the Scotch settlement and life.

Most careful searches were made in the State Capitol and in other buildings for historical material, and the "finds" were surprisingly numerous and varied. The records of the Governors in the executive office were also brought in, arranged and installed in the archives department.

Oil portraits of William Gaston, the writer of the State song, "The Old North State," and of Weldon N. Edwards, who presided over the Secession Convention at Raleigh, May, 1861, were received by presentation as gifts.

The muster rolls of the 26th North Carolina Infantry, C. S. A. (Vance, Burgwyn and Lane, its colonels in succession), were presented and tell the stirring history of the regiment which lost more men in the war than any other of the more than 4,000 regiments in the Federal and Confederate armies.

Many relics of the War Between the States were gathered, among them the brigade flag of Brigadier General Lawrence O'Brian Branch, who was killed in Virginia.

Numerous relics of the World War, illustrating North Carolina's part in it, were secured, notably an illustrative collection from the battlefields where the 105th Engineers were engaged, these being a

gift from its colonel, Joseph Hyde Pratt, as a memorial to the organization, which was in the 30th—or Old Hickory—Division of the American Expeditionary Forces.

Autographed photographs of North Carolina officers of high rank are also among the new additions. The North Carolina branch of the Red Cross and the great hospital at Oteen, near Asheville, presented tapestries which were gifts by King George of Great Britain. Photographs illustrating the visit of Marshal Foch of France to North Carolina were another addition.

The music and words of the original "Dixie," with a photograph and the autograph of Daniel D. Emmett, the author of the famous song, are lent for a year by the owner, Mr. Curtis, of Rochester, N. Y., and from here go to Cornell University.

During the two years all the one hundred counties have been visited, and in most of them history talks were made in colleges and schools of all degrees, in cities and towns and the rural sections. These included the State Summer School at the State College, and the Appalachian Training School at Boone. At the latter the writer's two weeks holiday was spent in giving lecture courses.

Respectfully submitted,

FRED A. OLDS.

LEGISLATIVE REFERENCE LIBRARY

Below will be found the report of the Legislative Reference Librarian. I call your attention to the various services performed by this department, and to the particular service of the bill-drafting service rendered the General Assembly. Six hundred fifty bills were drafted here during the regular session of the General Assembly of the 1921 and the special session.

The report follows:

RALEIGH, N. C., November 20, 1922.

DR. D. H. HILL, *Secretary,*

North Carolina Historical Commission,

Raleigh, N. C.

DEAR SIR:—I beg to submit herewith a report of the work of the Legislative Reference Library from December 1, 1920, to November 20, 1922:

The past twenty-four months have been unusually active ones in the Legislative Reference Library. During this period the following publi-

cations have been prepared and distributed among State and county officials, libraries and civic and professional organizations throughout the State:

1. Two editions of the Directory of State and County Officials. Hundreds of requests were received for this useful booklet, both from within and without the State.

2. A booklet containing the official vote by counties for President, State officers, Congressmen and constitutional amendments at the election held in November, 1920. A similar booklet covering the 1922 election will be issued shortly.

3. Bulletin No. 3, containing amendments to the Consolidated Statutes enacted at the Extra Session of 1920 and the regular session of 1921, arranged according to the section numbers of the Consolidated Statutes. This bulletin of 69 pages has proved invaluable to the lawyers and court officials throughout the State.

4. Bulletin No. 4 (24 pages), containing amendments to the Consolidated Statutes enacted at the Extra Session of the General Assembly held in December, 1921. This bulletin, together with Bulletin No. 3, contains all amendments to the Consolidated Statutes enacted since its adoption in 1919.

5. A booklet of 32 pages containing synopsis of Game Laws of various counties brought up to date with a supplement of game legislation enacted at the Special Session of 1921.

6. A court calendar was compiled showing the dates of the Superior Court held in the various counties of the State. This is especially useful to court officials, lawyers, and the public generally.

A concise handbook of information as to the activities of the various State departments is being compiled. This publication is designed to give a brief description of all State agencies and will serve as a guide to all persons seeking information and assistance. It will contain a sketch of the work, together with citation of laws creating each department, showing its chartered function.

Prior to the election of 1922, the press was furnished a compilation showing the compensation of members of the various State Legislatures, so that the voters might be informed when passing on the constitutional amendment increasing the compensation of members of the General Assembly.

During the regular session of the General Assembly of 1921 five hundred bills were prepared and drafted for members, and during the Extra Session of December, 1921, one hundred and fifty bills were likewise prepared in this office, three stenographers from the offices of the Engraving Clerks of the House and Senate having been kept busy type-writing the bills drafted. Members of the General Assembly, particularly the lay members, have appreciated this feature of the work in the Legislative Reference Library more than ever.

In addition to the above outline of some of the principal activities during the past two years, hundreds of inquiries touching on legislation in this and other States have been investigated and answered, and in no case has this office failed to give prompt and careful attention to all matters referred to it.

Since January, 1922, Mrs. W. J. Peele has been regularly employed as stenographer and assistant to the Legislative Reference Librarian, and her services have been entirely satisfactory.

Respectfully yours,

HENRY M. LONDON,
Legislative Reference Librarian.

SUMMARY

The various and constant services rendered the public by the Historical Commission's staff cannot be adequately summarized. But the following analysis of the foregoing report will show the main features of the work for the past two years:

1. 95,931 documents were properly arranged for use in our collections. Over 100,000 other documents were grouped in proper classifications. 500 cases of new material were handled.
2. 1,078 cases and volumes of county records from fifty counties were arranged and catalogued.
3. 17,752 pieces were scientifically repaired and mounted.
4. The Revolutionary Army Accounts were made available by an index of five volumes.
5. 64 volumes were bound.
6. 6 publications were issued, a total of 6,000 volumes.
7. 33 collections were added to.
8. 12 new collections were secured.
9. New material in London was found and catalogued.
10. 115 researchers made use of the records; of these, 11 were preparing monographs on North Carolina.
11. 315 classes, totalling 7,300 school children, received lectures on North Carolina in the Hall of History.
12. 1,100 objects were added to the Hall of History.
13. The Collector for the Hall of History made 392 talks in public schools, and issued "The Story of the Counties" to 2,500 people and institutions.
14. Two publications on the World War were prepared.
15. 5 publications were issued by the Legislative Reference Library, and 650 bills were drafted.

Respectfully submitted,

D. H. HILL,
Secretary.

RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA, December 1, 1922.

NO MAN IS FIT TO BE ENTRUSTED WITH
CONTROL OF THE PRESENT WHO IS IGNORANT
OF THE PAST; AND NO PEOPLE WHO ARE
INDIFFERENT TO THEIR PAST NEED HOPE TO
MAKE THEIR FUTURE GREAT.

PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION

BULLETIN NO. 22

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Twenty-second Annual Session
OF THE
State Literary and Historical Association
of North Carolina

RALEIGH
DECEMBER 7-8, 1922

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RALEIGH
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Compiled by
R. B. HOUSE, Secretary

RALEIGH
BYNUM PRINTING COMPANY
STATE PRINTERS
1923

The North Carolina Historical Commission

T. M. PITTMAN, *Chairman*, Henderson

M. C. S. NOBLE, Chapel Hill

HEBIOT CLARKSON, Charlotte

FRANK WOOD, Edenton

W. N. EVERETT, Raleigh

D. H. HILL, *Secretary*, Raleigh

R. B. HOUSE, *Archivist*, Raleigh

Officers of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina

1921-1922

President.....	WILLIAM K. BOYD, Durham.
First Vice-President.....	S. A. ASHE, Raleigh.
Second Vice-President.....	MRS. D. H. BLAIR, Greensboro.
Third Vice-President.....	JOHN JORDAN DOUGLASS, Wadesboro.
Secretary.....	R. B. HOUSE, Raleigh.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(With above officers)

W. C. JACKSON, Greensboro.	D. H. HILL, Raleigh.
J. G. DE R. HAMILTON, Chapel Hill	CLARENCE POE, Raleigh.
C. C. PEARSON, Wake Forest.	

1922-1923

President.....	MISS ADELAIDE FRIES, Winston-Salem.
First Vice-President.....	BISHOP JOSEPH BLOUNT CHESHIRE, Raleigh.
Second Vice-President.....	BENJAMIN SLEDD, Wake Forest.
Third Vice-President.....	MRS. J. R. CHAMBERLAIN, Raleigh.
Secretary.....	R. B. HOUSE, Raleigh.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(With above officers)

R. D. W. CONNOR, Chapel Hill.	C. C. PEARSON, Wake Forest.
W. K. BOYD, Chapel Hill.	GEN. J. S. CARR, Durham.
MISS CARRIE L. BROUGHTON, Raleigh.	JOHN J. BLAIR, Raleigh.

PURPOSES OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

"The collection, preservation, production, and dissemination of State literature and history ;

"The encouragement of public and school libraries ;

"The establishment of an historical museum ;

"The inculcation of a literary spirit among our people ;

"The correction of printed misrepresentations concerning North Carolina ;
and

"The engendering of an intelligent, healthy State pride in the rising generations."

ELIGIBILITY TO MEMBERSHIP—MEMBERSHIP DUES

All persons interested in its purposes are invited to become members of the Association. The dues are one dollar a year, to be paid to the secretary.

RECORD OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION (Organized October, 1900)

<i>Fiscal Years</i>	<i>Presidents</i>	<i>Secretaries</i>	<i>Paid-up Membership</i>
1900-1901	WALTER CLARK.....	ALEX. J. FEILD.....	150
1901-1902	HENRY G. CONNOR.....	ALEX. J. FEILD.....	139
1902-1903	W. L. POTEAT.....	GEORGE S. FRAPS.....	73
1903-1904	C. ALPHONSO SMITH.....	CLARENCE POE.....	127
1904-1905	ROBERT W. WINSTON.....	CLARENCE POE.....	109
1905-1906	CHARLES B. AYCOCK.....	CLARENCE POE.....	185
1906-1907	W. D. PRUDEN.....	CLARENCE POE.....	301
1907-1908	ROBERT BINGHAM.....	CLARENCE POE.....	273
1908-1909	JUNIUS DAVIS.....	CLARENCE POE.....	311
1909-1910	PLATT D. WALKER.....	CLARENCE POE.....	440
1910-1911	EDWARD K. GRAHAM.....	CLARENCE POE.....	425
1911-1912	R. D. W. CONNOR.....	CLARENCE POE.....	479
1912-1913	W. P. FEW.....	R. D. W. CONNOR.....	476
1913-1914	ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.....	R. D. W. CONNOR.....	435
1914-1915	CLARENCE POE.....	R. D. W. CONNOR.....	412
1915-1916	HOWARD E. RONDTHALER.....	R. D. W. CONNOR.....	501
1916-1917	H. A. LONDON.....	R. D. W. CONNOR.....	521
1917-1918	JAMES SPRUNT.....	R. D. W. CONNOR.....	453
1918-1919	JAMES SPRUNT.....	R. D. W. CONNOR.....	377
1919-1920	J. G. DE R. HAMILTON.....	R. D. W. CONNOR.....	493
1920-1921	D. H. HILL.....	R. B. HOUSE.....	430
1921-1922	W. K. BOYD.....	R. B. HOUSE.....	430
1922-1923	ADELAIDE FRIES.....	R. B. HOUSE.....	450

THE PATTERSON MEMORIAL CUP

Established 1905; discontinued 1922

THE CONDITIONS OF AWARD OFFICIALLY SET FORTH BY MRS. PATTERSON

To the President and Executive Committee of the Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina:

As a memorial to my father, and with a view to stimulating effort among the writers of North Carolina, and to awaken among the people of the State an interest in their own literature, I desire to present to your Society a loving cup, upon the following stipulations, which I trust will meet with your approval and will be found to be just and practicable:

1. The cup will be known as the "William Houston Patterson Memorial Cup."

2. It will be awarded at each annual meeting of your Association for ten successive years, beginning with October, 1905.

3. It will be given to that resident of the State who during the twelve months from September 1st of the previous year to September 1st of the year of the award has displayed, either in prose or poetry, without regard to its length, the greatest excellence and the highest literary skill and genius. The work must be published during the said twelve months, and no manuscript nor any unpublished writings will be considered.

4. The name of the successful competitor will be engraved upon the cup, with the date of award, and it will remain in his possession until October 1st of the following year, when it shall be returned to the Treasurer of the Association, to be by him held in trust until the new award of your annual meeting that month. It will become the permanent possession of the one winning it oftenest during the ten years, provided he shall have won it three times. Should no one, at the expiration of that period, have won it so often, the competition shall continue until that result is reached. The names of only those competitors who shall be living at the time of the final award shall be considered in the permanent disposition of the cup.

5. The Board of Award shall consist of the President of the Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina, who will act as chairman, and of the occupants of the chairs of English Literature at the University of North Carolina, at Davidson College, at Wake Forest College, and at the State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts at Raleigh, and of the chairs of History at the University of North Carolina and Trinity College.

6. If any of these gentlemen should decline or be unable to serve, their successors shall be appointed by the remaining members of the board, and these appointees may act for the whole unexpired term or for a shorter time, as the board may determine. Notice of the inability of any member to act must be given at the beginning of the year during which he declines to serve, so that there may be a full committee during the entire term of each year.

7. The publication of a member of the board will be considered and passed upon in the same manner as that of any other writer.

MRS. J. LINDSAY PATTERSON.

SUPPLEMENTARY RESOLUTION

According to a resolution adopted at the 1908 session of the Literary and Historical Association, it is also provided that no author desiring to have his work considered in connection with the award of the cup shall communicate with any member of the committee, either personally or through a representative. Books or other publications to be considered, together with any communication regarding them, must be sent to the Secretary of the Association and by him presented to the chairman of the committee for consideration.

AWARDS OF THE PATTERSON MEMORIAL CUP

- 1905—JOHN CHARLES MCNEILL, for poems later reprinted in book form as "Songs, Merry and Sad."
1906—EDWIN MIMS, for "Life of Sidney Lanier."
1907—KEMP PLUMMER BATTLE, for "History of the University of North Carolina."
1908—SAMUEL A'COURT ASHE, for "History of North Carolina."
1909—CLARENCE POE, for "A Southerner in Europe."
1910—R. D. W. CONNOR, for "Cornelius Harnett: An Essay in North Carolina History."
1911—ARCHIBALD HENDERSON, for "George Bernard Shaw: His Life and Works."
1912—CLARENCE POE, for "Where Half the World is Waking Up."
1913—HORACE KEPHART, for "Our Southern Highlanders."
1914—J. G. DE R. HAMILTON, for "Reconstruction in North Carolina."
1915—WILLIAM LOUIS POTEAT, for "The New Peace."
1916—No award.
1917—MRS. OLIVE TILFORD DARGAN, for "The Cycle's Rim."
1918—No award.
1919—No award.
1920—MISS WINIFRED KIRKLAND, for "The New Death."
1921—No award.
1922—JOSEPHUS DANIELS, for "Our Navy at War."

FINAL DISPOSITION OF THE PATTERSON MEMORIAL CUP

RALEIGH, N. C., March 16, 1923.

MRS. J. LINDSAY PATTERSON, *Winston-Salem, N. C.*

DEAR MRS. PATTERSON:—At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Literary and Historical Association yesterday, it was decided to discontinue the award of the Patterson Memorial Cup and to deposit the cup as a permanent memorial in the Hall of History. This decision was reached only after it had been ascertained that such disposition was agreeable to you.

As you will remember, the original contest was to continue for ten years, with the idea that if any one author should win the cup three times it would become his property. Although Dr. Clarence Poe won the cup twice, the condition of winning it three times was not met by any one author. The contest was therefore continued indefinitely, at the discretion of the executive committee. The following situation has arisen: the space on the cup for engraving the names of the winners has been entirely filled, and since the cup has met adequately the purpose for which it was established, it is deemed best to establish the cup, as it is now engraved, as a permanent memorial in the Hall of History.

The effectiveness of the cup as a stimulant to literary effort in North Carolina will be clear to you from the record of its award.

In retiring the cup, the executive committee reserves the right to establish again, as soon as practicable, some other form of literary reward, so that it will gratify you to know that the idea established by you in the award of the Patterson Cup is likely to be a permanent stimulant to literary effort in the State.

It is hardly necessary to express to you the deep appreciation, not only of the Literary and Historical Association itself, but of all the people of North Carolina, for your sincere interest and coöperation in the purposes of the State Literary and Historical Association.

With best wishes and highest regards,

Sincerely yours,

ADELAIDE FRIES, *President.*

R. B. HOUSE, *Secretary.*

WHAT THE ASSOCIATION HAS ACCOMPLISHED FOR THE STATE; SUCCESSFUL MOVEMENTS INAUGURATED BY IT

1. Rural libraries.
2. "North Carolina Day" in the schools.
3. The North Carolina Historical Commission.
4. Vance statue in Statuary Hall.
5. Fireproof State Library Building and Hall of Records.
6. Civil War battlefields marked to show North Carolina's record.
7. North Carolina's war record defended and war claims vindicated.
8. Patterson Memorial Cup.

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Proceedings and Addresses of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina

Minutes of the Twenty-second Annual Session Raleigh, December 7-8, 1922

THURSDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 7TH

The twenty-second annual session of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina was called to order in the auditorium of the Woman's Club of Raleigh, Thursday evening, December 7th, at 8 o'clock, with President W. K. Boyd in the chair. The session was opened with invocation by Rev. Henry G. Lane, pastor of the Church of the Good Shepherd, Raleigh. Dr. Boyd then read the annual address of the president. He was followed by Dr. John E. White, President of Anderson College, who addressed the Association on "When the Tide Began to Turn for Popular Education in North Carolina, 1890-1900." After Dr. White's address there was a reception for the members of the Association, the Folk Lore Society, and their guests, in the Club Building.

FRIDAY MORNING, DECEMBER 8TH

The Friday morning session, December 8th, was called to order by President Boyd at 11 o'clock a.m., in the House of Representatives. The President presented to the Association Mrs. J. R. Chamberlain, of Raleigh, who read a paper entitled, "Two Wake County Editors Whose Work Has Influenced the World." She was followed by Dr. Edmund Schwarze, of Winston-Salem, who read a paper on "Missions of the Moravians in North Carolina Among Southern Indian Tribes." The President then presented Dr. C. C. Pearson, of Wake Forest College, who read a paper on "Concerning a History of North Carolina Administrative Departments." He was followed by Dr. L. R. Wilson, of the University of North Carolina, whose subject was "Use of Books and Libraries in North Carolina." Miss Mary B. Palmer, who was to read the bibliography of North Carolina for the year 1921-1922, was unable to be present. She sent in her paper for publication, and Miss Carrie L. Broughton, State Librarian, made an exhibit of books of the year.

At the conclusion of the exercises the following business was transacted:

The president appointed the following:

Committee on Nominations—W. C. Jackson, W. W. Pierson, Miss Carrie L. Broughton.

Committee on Resolutions—D. H. Hill, Marshall DeL. Haywood, Charles Lee Smith.

Committee on a North Carolina Poetry Society—C. A. Hibbard, Miss Nell B. Lewis, Roger McCutcheon, Gerald Johnson.

This last committee was appointed in response to the following resolution:

"Having canvassed the situation, and feeling that there is a definite interest in the criticism and writing of verse, we respectfully petition the President of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association to appoint a committee of organization with a view to promoting a poetry society for North Carolina.

"N. I. WHITE,

"NELL BATTLE LEWIS.

"JOHN JORDAN DOUGLASS.

"C. A. HIBBARD, *Chairman.*"

General Julian S. Carr obtained the floor on behalf of the Sir Walter Raleigh Memorial Committee. In the course of his remarks he endorsed in high terms the services of W. J. Peele in the work on the memorial and as a founder of North Carolina State College, and the Literary and Historical Association. He offered the following resolution, which was carried:

Resolved, That the movement inaugurated by the North Carolina Historical Society in the year 1902 to erect a memorial to Sir Walter Raleigh in the city of Raleigh be properly reorganized and recognized by this Society.

Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton offered the following resolution, which was carried:

"We, the North Carolina Society, Daughters of the Revolution, wish to express ourselves as solidly behind the movement to erect the Sir Walter Raleigh monument, and will do everything possible to assist General Carr and others interested in this movement.

(Signed) "MARY HILLIARD HINTON,

Regent.

"NINA HOLLAND COVINGTON.

Recording Secretary."

This was followed by a third resolution made by Dr. J. Y. Joyner, and carried, as follows:

Moved, that General Carr be made Chairman of the Sir Walter Raleigh Memorial Committee of twenty-five, and that the chairman, the incoming president and the secretary of this association be authorized to select and announce the other members of this committee.

The president, through the secretary, reported the following revised constitution, which was carried unanimously:

NAME

This association shall be called the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina.

PURPOSES

The purposes of this association shall be the collection, preservation, production, and dissemination of our State literature and history; the encouragement of public and school libraries; the establishment of an historical museum; the inculcation of a literary spirit among our people; the correction of printed misrepresentations concerning North Carolina; and the engendering of a healthy State pride among the rising generations.

OFFICERS

The officers of the association shall be a president, first, second, and third vice-presidents, and a secretary, whose terms of office shall be for one year and until their successors shall be elected and qualified. They shall be elected by the association at its annual meetings, except that vacancies in any office may be filled by the executive committee until the meeting of the association occurring next thereafter.

The president shall preside over all the meetings of the association, and appoint all members of committees, except where it is otherwise provided, and look after the general interest of the association. In case of the death or resignation of the president, his successor shall be selected by the executive committee from the vice-presidents.

The secretary shall be the administrative officer of the association. He shall keep the books and funds, receive money for the association, and disburse it for purposes authorized by the executive committee. He shall strive by all practicable means to increase the membership and influence of the association.

COMMITTEES

There shall be an executive committee, composed of the president, the secretary, and six others, two of whom shall be appointed each year by the incoming president, to serve three years: *Provided*, that at the annual session, 1922, four members shall be elected by the association, as follows: two members to serve one year, and two to serve two years. The president, secretary, and any other three members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

The executive committee shall make programs and arrangements for all meetings of the association, supervise all business matters, receive all reports of officers, endeavor especially to secure from philanthropic citizens donations toward a permanent fund of endowment, and in general promote the purpose of the association. The executive committee shall be subject to the general supervision of the association.

There shall be such other committees appointed by the president to serve during his term of office for such time and such purposes as he shall see fit.

MEMBERSHIP

All persons interested in its purposes and desiring to have a part in promoting them are eligible to membership in the association. They will be duly enrolled upon receipt of the annual membership fee.

FEES

The annual membership fee shall be one dollar, to be paid to the secretary.

MEETINGS

There shall be one regular annual meeting, the time and place of which shall be determined by the executive committee. Other meetings may be arranged by the executive committee.

AUXILIARY SOCIETIES

Auxiliary societies may be organized, with the advice of, and under the supervision of, the executive committee.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON, DECEMBER 8TH

In the rooms of the North Carolina Historical Commission, Chairman W. C. Jackson called to order a conference of North Carolina history teachers. Discussion was led by Mr. Charles L. Coon and Mr. Guy B. Phillips, and participated in by numerous teachers of history. The conference was held Friday afternoon, December 8th.

FRIDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 8TH

On Friday evening, December 8th, President Boyd called the meeting to order in the auditorium of Meredith College. He presented Prof. Louis Graves, of the University of North Carolina, who presented the speaker of the evening, Mr. Walter Lippmann, of the New York World. Mr. Lippmann read a paper on "The Cult of the Second Best," after which there was brief discussion by question and answer between Mr. Lippmann and his audience. At the conclusion of the address Dr. T. P. Harrison, of the State College, in a brief and graceful speech rendered the report of the Patterson Cup Committee, awarding the cup for 1922 to Hon. Josephus Daniels, for his book, "Our Navy at War."

The Committee on Resolutions reported the following resolution, which was carried:

Resolved, That the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina commends the establishment of county libraries, and urges county authorities to consider this plan as the most feasible to promote county-wide library service.

D. H. HILL, *Chairman*.

The Committee on Nominations reported as follows:

Officers: President—Miss Adelaide Fries, Winston-Salem; 1st Vice-President—Bishop Joseph B. Cheshire, Raleigh; 2d Vice-President—Dr. Benjamin Sledd, Wake Forest; 3d Vice-President—Mrs. J. R. Chamberlain, Raleigh; Secretary—R. B. House, Raleigh.

Members of the Executive Committee: R. D. W. Connor, Chapel Hill; W. K. Boyd, Durham; Miss Carrie L. Broughton, Raleigh; C. C. Pearson, Wake Forest.

The Association adjourned *sine die*.

ADDRESSES

The American Revolution and Reform in the South

By WM. K. BOYD

President State Literary and Historical Association

The past decade has witnessed a profound change in the public opinion and policies of the United States. In 1914 we had placed new wine in old bottles and under the domination of a party noted for its conservatism we were experimenting with governmental supervision of business and finance, adopting a new program of taxation, and considering certain measures leading to social democracy; then toward the end of the World War we championed a policy of international co-operation. Today we have reached a point of extreme reaction. Alarmed at the forces unloosed by the cataclysm in Europe we have conceived a nebulous state of normalcy; for national self-preservation we have retired behind the cloak of isolation, political and economic. Alarmed at the prevalence of new political and social ideals, free speech is limited, free teaching is restricted, personal liberty to travel to and fro is denied, and the alien is restrained from seeking in America a refuge from old world conditions. Moreover, in reaction against anything new we have fallen back in national administration into the old trough dedicated to the sacred theory of the separation of the powers. Today we stand as the most conservative rather than the most progressive and forward-looking of the great nations of the world.

The present confusion in opinion, the uncertainty in the national state of mind, should be stimulating to those who are historically minded. This is not the first period in our national life when existing institutions and the social structure have been questioned; by no means the first time when some have turned blindly to the ancient landmarks and others have sought an anchorage in new principles. While history never repeats and comparisons are always dangerous, there are certain phenomena of parallel interest with the present turmoil and uncertainty; and today the conservative and the radical could do no better than to recall and examine from the angle of institutional reform and social change that decade which saw the birth of the Republic. For the American Revolution was not merely a revolt against the mother country resulting in independence; it also unloosed forces in America that few foresaw at the beginning of the struggle, and these forces

produced changes at home as profound and lasting as did the entry of a new member into the family of nations. And nowhere were those changes more apparent than in the Southern States. It was by virtue of the leadership taken in the reform of social and institutional life that the South was enabled to assert its great influence in shaping the affairs of the nation during the generation after the war; for statesmanship is never bred in a static atmosphere; for it the spirit of dynamic change is essential; and nowhere in America was that spirit stronger in the later eighteenth century than in the South.

I take therefore as the theme of my address the spirit of the American Revolution and its reaction on the institutional and social structure of the South, the conflict between conservatism and radicalism during that epoch-making period in this our home region. To that end, let us first consider the background which precipitated the issues.

From the early days down to 1776 certain fundamental influences shaped Southern society. First of these was that of family. In no other region of English America did kinship, locality, and descent have quite the importance that prevailed south of the Potomac. For this there were various reasons. One was economic. In the pioneer days land was granted by headrights. Once the land was surveyed and entered, wife and children were also of value in clearing the forest, cultivating the soil, and in administering the property. Social demands also made the family of distinct value. There were few amusements, and the distance from settlement to settlement was great. Therefore if relaxation or a change from immediate surroundings was desired, family and kindred were the only opportunity. Blood relationship meant companionship, sympathy, and that relaxation which later ages have found in golf clubs and pleasure resorts.

To the same end worked a tradition brought from the old world. No worthier ambition occurred to an Englishman than to found a family which would preserve its identity from generation to generation. In the South encouragement in that purpose existed in the land law. Generally the property of persons dying intestate passed to the oldest son, and this custom of the law stimulated testators to give preference to one heir over others. Moreover, it was possible through entails to insure inheritance in one line of descent. So the unity of family property was established, and on the basis of that unity there developed an aristocracy of land and family. Thus economic conditions, the need for companionship, tradition and the law gave to the family a peculiar position; indeed in the South the family had something of the sanctity enjoyed by the church in New England. It was in the home, not the church, that the great epochs of human life were usually celebrated;

there occurred the christenings and marriages, there in garden or neighboring field was the burial ground, and often the only churches of the community were the private chapels of the great landowners. The family was the inner shrine of southern life.

Second only to the family in importance was the system of local government. Indeed the two were intimately connected. In England a part of the family ideal was for one or more members to take an active part in public affairs. This tradition followed the colonists to the new world, and in the South the opportunity was at hand in the county court, the prevailing unit of local government. Though varying as to detail from colony to colony, the county court everywhere had this in common: its members, the justices of the peace, were appointed, not elected. The other officers of the county were also appointed, either by the court or by the Governor. The powers of these justices were not merely judicial; they were also governmental and administrative. To be a county justice was a position of no mean importance, and it is no wonder that well-established families centered their attention first of all on membership in the county court. Generation after generation members of the same family were to be found on the local bench. The office was a stepping-stone to other positions; to the Legislature, the governor's council, and the office of sheriff. Thus there developed a ruling class whose members were bound to each other by ties of public service. Its support was indispensable to any one desiring to enter public life.

Like England, also, was the law. Each colony inherited the common law and the statutes enacted by Parliament before its foundation. Local conditions made possible many modifications of this principle. In New England, especially, there were many variations, but in the South there was a larger fidelity to English heritage. The law of inheritance and wills, equity and the land law, procedure and the division of the courts into courts of law and courts of equity—these matters illustrate the fidelity to British jurisprudence. How strong was the example of contemporary England is well illustrated by the application of benefit of clergy. This custom of the law, by which severe penalties for crime were ameliorated, was adopted in Virginia. In 1732, in language almost identical with that of the statute of 5 Anne 6, the Virginia Legislature declared:

If any person be convicted of felony, for which he ought to have the benefit of clergy, and shall pray to have the benefit of this act, he shall not be required to read, but, without any reading, shall be allowed, taken, and reputed to be, and punished as, a clerk convict.

Thus branding and corporal punishment became a substitute for hanging by the neck until dead in offenses that were clergiable. This adaptation of English practice was not confined to Virginia; it was found also in the Carolinas and Georgia, and was not abolished until long after the Revolution.

An important element in the colonial life of the South was religion. The warm climate, the close contact of the people with the forces of nature, and the comparative loneliness due to sparse settlements begot a peculiar emotional temperament. This was a good background for religious thought and feeling; for solitude leads to introspection, nature suggests an unseen presence, and warmth of climate creates a susceptibility to emotional appeal. Unfortunately the history of religion was characterized by a contest between privilege and equality. In Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, the Church of England was established and the law of the time discriminated in its favor. The persecution of Puritans and the exclusion of Quakers in Virginia during the seventeenth century, and the question of the extension of the Toleration Act to Dissenters in the eighteenth century, are familiar themes in the colony's history. More than this, the law of Virginia declared that any one brought up in the Christian faith who denied the being of God or the Trinity, that the Christian religion is true, or that the scriptures are of divine authority should lose his capacity to hold office on first conviction, on a second his right to sue, receive gifts and legacies, or to serve as guardian or executor, and he was also to suffer three years' imprisonment. In North Carolina the clergymen not of the established Church were subject to militia and road service, and in South Carolina the parish organization was made a unit of civil government whereby the low country controlled the alien settlements of the frontier. In spite of these discriminations the Dissenters increased in numbers until they were in the majority and the contest between England and the colonies which ushered in the Revolution was paralleled by a controversy no less notable between the Anglicans and Dissenters for toleration and equality before the law.

Education and intellectual life also bore the stamp of old world traditions. The English ideal that education is the function of the family and the individual except in the case of indigent children prevailed. Hence it was that the only provision for public education in colonial law was exactly that which also existed in England, the training of indigent children and orphans through apprenticeship. Suggestive of England also was the foundation of privately supported or endowed free schools to which poor children were usually admitted free. A

number of these free schools were to be found in Virginia and South Carolina, and in the latter colony such schools were supported by clubs or societies. The nature of the curriculum in these institutions is unknown, but an advertisement for a master to teach a free school in Princess Anne County in 1784 required of the candidate ability to teach the Latin and Greek languages and surveying. It is not difficult to see in these schools an effort to duplicate in America the work of the endowed grammar schools in England. A few academies identified with the Church of England existed. There were also academies established by the Presbyterian clergy of the Carolinas in the generation preceding the Revolution; but their growth and expansion was limited by the policy of the British Government which would not permit them to be chartered. Indeed, toward the support of schools by public money the British Government was strongly averse; money emitted for that purpose by the North Carolina Assembly in 1754 and spent for the colonial cause in the French and Indian War was not refunded.

Yet there was a high type of intellectual life among the large planters. In South Carolina the dominant interest was science and medicine. In Virginia it was law and philosophy, and politics. Robert Carter read philosophy with his wife; Jefferson also dabbled in the subject; the opinions of the Virginia jurists show a wide knowledge of the English common law; and surely no profounder student of politics lived than Madison. "In spite of the Virginian's love for dissipation," wrote Liancourt, "the taste for reading is commoner there, among men of the first class than in any other part of America." However, intellectual life did not find expression in the production of books, rather it found an outlet through the spoken word. Politics and litigation were something more than a personal stake; they were a game to be played for the game's sake, methods of intellectual discipline. There was thus injected into public affairs a sort of splendid disinterestedness. It was this phase of southern character that William Ellery Channing had in mind when he wrote from Richmond in 1799:

I blush for my own people when I compare the selfish prudence of a Yankee with the genuine confidence of a Virginian. . . . There is one single trait that attaches me to the people I live with more than all the virtues of New England: they love money less than we do; they are more disinterested; their patriotism is not tied to their pursestrings.

Social conditions were characterized by privilege based not on blood, but on wealth. Nowhere in America were there greater inequalities, and of these inequalities Virginia was most notable. Wrote Isaac Weld:

Instead of the land being equally divided, numerous estates are held by a few individuals, who derive large incomes from them, whilst the generality of the people are in a state of mediocrity. Most of the men, also, who possess these large estates, having secured a liberal education, which the others have not, the distinction between them is still more observable. (*Travels*, I. 146.)

These words aptly describe the larger planter class—a class so numerous in South Carolina, less extensive in North Carolina, and barely existent in Georgia. But there was also a large middle class, small planters and farmers, professional men, mechanics and yeomen. They composed at least half of the population in Virginia and more than half in North Carolina. Many of them accumulated property or attained intellectual distinction, and thereby rose into the ranks of the aristocracy. One can almost identify this class by the descriptions of their houses, as when a traveler mentions houses built of wood, with wooden chimneys coated with clay, whose owners “being in general ignorant of the comfort of reading and writing, they want nothing in their whole house but a bed, dining-room, and a drawing-room for company.”

Finally there were the poor whites—rude, shiftless, and unambitious. “It is in this country that I saw poor persons for the first time after I passed the sea,” wrote Chastellux, “the presence of wretched, miserable huts inhabited by whites whose wan looks and ragged garments indicated the direst poverty.” However, the proportion of this class to the total population was less “than in any other country of the universe.” Not poverty *per se*, but the contrast between poverty and riches impressed the observer. Between Richmond and Fredericksburg one might meet a “family party traveling along in as elegant a coach as is usually met with in the neighborhood of London, and attended by several gayly dressed footmen.” He might also meet a “ragged black boy or girl driving a lean cow and a mule; sometimes a lean bull or two, riding or driving as occasion suited. The carriage or wagon, if it may be called such, appeared in as wretched a condition as the team and its driver.”

Regarding class distinctions and class feeling we have little information from the natives themselves, especially from members of the humbler class. Preëminent among such accounts is the testimony of Devereux Jarrett, a Methodist minister:

We were accustomed to look upon what were called gentle folks as beings of a superior order. For my part, I was quite shy of them and kept off at a humble distance. A periwig in those days was a distinguishing badge of gentle folks, and when I saw a man riding the road, near our house, with a wig on, it would so alarm my fears and give me such a disagreeable feeling that I dare say I would run off as for my life. Such ideas of the difference between gentle and simple were, I believe, universal among my rank. (*Life*, p. 14.)

That slavery tended to intensify class distinctions is an axiom to which Jefferson bore ample testimony. But to the serious inquirer the more notable characteristic of Southern slavery in the later eighteenth century was its unprofitableness and a widespread desire to see it abolished. Weld wrote:

The number of slaves increased most rapidly, so that there is scarcely any State but what is overstocked. This is a circumstance complained of by every planter, as the maintenance of more than are requisite for the culture of the estate is attended with great expense. (*Travels*, I, 147.)

In 1774 the wife of Robert Carter agreed with Philip Fithian, the family tutor, that if all the slaves were sold on the plantation, and the money put at interest, there would be a "greater yearly income than what is now received from their working the lands," to say nothing of the risk and trouble assumed by the master as to crops and negroes. And this opinion was confirmed in greater detail by St. George Tucker in 1804:

It would be a very high estimate should one suppose the generality of farmers to make ten per cent per annum upon the whole value of their lands and slaves. I incline to believe that very few exceed eight per cent, and out of this the clothing and provisions of their slaves and horses employed in making the crop ought to be deducted. A net profit of five per cent is probably more than remains to one in twenty for the support of himself and his family. If he wants money to increase his stock, even the legal demands and speculators' pay, without scruple will amount to fourfold, perhaps tenfold, his profits. (*Commentaries on Blackstone*.)

In South Carolina also there was a similar sentiment. LaRoche-foucauld-Liancourt, writing in 1799, made a careful estimate of the economic profits of slave labor in that State and concluded that it was \$68 per head and that white labor would bring a larger return.

This condition was one basis of a widespread desire to see slavery abolished. Finch wrote:

Before I visited the Southern States, I supposed that all the planters were in favor of the system of slavery. But I did not meet with a single individual who did not regret having this species of property, and shew a wish to remedy it, if there was any possible mode by which it could be accomplished. (*Travels*, 240.)

Said Russel Goodrich before the Alexandria Society for Promoting Useful Knowledge, in 1791:

But let our planters become farmers—it would be a memorable idea: our fields, touched with a magic wand, would bloom; our slaves become freemen; our improvement excite universal attention.

Such were the institutions and economic conditions peculiar to the South in the eighteenth century. It was a land of many contrasts. Political oligarchies ruled, yet there was a certain disinterested devotion to the public service, and the section's greatest contribution to national life was in the domain of political thought. Refinement and culture of a high type existed, but along with it much ignorance and coarseness. Love of liberty was challenged by the existence of chattel slavery. The bounty of nature was rebuked by wasteful production. Souls susceptible to religious appeal were steeped in material aims and deistic philosophy. What traits of character distinguished the Southerner from his neighbor northward? What kind of men and women did such conditions produce? The answer is suggested by a remark of Bernard in his *Retrospects*. Speaking of the Virginia planters he says, "Like the old feudal barons, their whole life is a temptation through absence of restraint." Life in a vast, bountiful and undeveloped region, life in intimate contact with the blind forces of nature, life without the limitations of a small unit of local government, life without adequate means of intellectual discipline or adequate religious institutions, life with hosts of dependent servile blacks; under such conditions character was molded with no restraint from without; men and women developed according to the dictates of emotion and will. Thus the Southerner was notable for his individuality, for his non-conformity to type or pattern. This individuality, resulting from absence of restraint, in turn produced certain traits well outlined by Thomas Jefferson when contrasting Northern and Southern character:

N.	S.
cool	fiery
sober	voluptuous
laborious	indolent
persevering	unsteady
independent	independent
jealous of their own liberties and just to those of others.	zealous for liberty, but trampling on that of others.

Upon such a region and such a people the American Revolution had a profound reaction. Its justification was found in the compact theory of government popularized by the Declaration of Independence. That all men are created equal meant, in the light of the revenue controversy, equality of economic liberties. That all governments derive their authority from the consent of the governed meant in the relation of colonies to the mother country, self-governing but component parts of a British Empire. These were concepts which only radicals and obscure

men then grasped; when they were rejected by the authorities in power independence was the only alternative. But when the choice of independence was made, what were the implications of that equality and that government by consent to the citizens of the states in revolt? Specifically, what were their implications in a section with a well-established landed aristocracy, ruled by petty judicial oligarchies, more English than American in its system of law, without educational opportunities for all, where the concept of liberty was challenged by chattel slavery and religion was characterized by the privilege of one denomination? It is worthy of note that the man who more than any other realized the contrast between the political theory of the Revolution and the institutions and conditions peculiar to the South was Thomas Jefferson. Within three months after the Declaration was adopted he resigned from the Continental Congress, returned to Virginia, and became a member of the Legislature with the distinct purpose of agitating democratic reform. He says:

When I left Congress, in 1776, it was in the persuasion that our whole code must be revised, adapted to our republican form of government, and now that we had no negations or councils, governors and kings to restrain us from doing right, that it should be corrected in all its parts, with a single eye to reason, and the good of those for whose government it was formed. (*Memoir.*)

In one direction the course of reform was already under way, that of religious freedom. In June the Virginia Convention had adopted a constitution, and in the Bill of Rights there was a declaration that "all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience." This meant the abolition of religious discrimination, that persecutions were no longer possible, and that men of all religious persuasions could participate in government if they met the proper secular tests. It was far in advance of North Carolina's, for there the right to hold office was denied to those who rejected the being of God, the truth of the Protestant religion, or the divine authority of the Old and New Testaments. In Georgia, likewise, the constitution of 1777 declared for freedom of religion but required all members of the Legislature to be of the Protestant religion, and not until 1790 was the principle of religious freedom fully triumphant in South Carolina. Thus Virginia led the South; moreover it led the nation, for in no other of the first state constitutions was the principle of unrestricted religious freedom enunciated; only Rhode Island, which continued its colonial charter, reached a similar plane. More than this, the Virginia declaration was the first of the kind to be embodied in a modern constitution anywhere.

However a question of equal importance was not settled, the relationship between the State and the established church. Many of the Dissenters held that the Virginia declaration destroyed that relationship; the Anglicans that it did not. Thus when the Legislature assembled in October there were many petitions; some, mainly from Presbyterians and Baptists, prayed for a final separation of church and state; others, submitted by Anglicans and members of the Methodist societies, asked for a continuation of the establishment. Of the committee to which these were referred Jefferson was a member. His sympathies were entirely for disestablishment, but against him were Edmund Pendleton, the jurist, and Robert Carter Nicholas, patriot. For two months there was a deadlock. Then as a compromise the English statutes which made criminal religious opinions were declared invalid, the Dissenters were exempted from the payment of church taxes, and all others were likewise exempted for one year. This was practically, but not theoretically, disestablishment. Coercion over opinion had previously gone, and taxes now relinquished were never reimposed.

It is somewhat difficult for us today to realize the significance of these changes in organic law. The men who promoted them were of English extraction, and for a thousand years there had been in the mother country an established church, the acknowledgment in law and institutions of national allegiance to God. For a group of provincials, English in origin and tradition, ruthlessly and suddenly to sever the historic relationship between religion and government marked them as radicals. States embarking on such a policy were entering an uncharted sea and there were grave predictions as to the future. In fact in Virginia many believed that standards of conduct were lowered and the morals of the people corrupted by this break with the past. Typical was Richard Henry Lee. He wrote:

Refiners may weave reason into as fine a fabric as they please, but the experience of all times shows religion to be the guardian of morals: and he must be a very inattentive observer in our country who does not see that avarice is accomplishing the destruction of religion for want of legal obligation to contribute something to its support. (Lee, *Lee*, II, 5.)

Naturally the traditionalists gathered strength and in 1784 they submitted to the Legislature two measures, one to incorporate such religious societies as would apply for incorporation, the other that the people ought to pay "a moderate tax or contribution annually for the support of the Christian religion." Both these resolutions were adopted and the Episcopal Church, applying for incorporation, was promptly chartered. However the second resolution, calling for taxation, required a statute;

through the influence of Madison the bill was deferred until the next session in order to sound the sentiment of the people. There followed a notable campaign, and when the Legislature next met it was evident that Virginians had spoken against any renewal of church taxes. Taking advantage of the situation, a bill for religious freedom written by Jefferson was introduced and was adopted. It established nothing new; but it did state in form of statute the ideal of complete religious liberty; while toleration widely existed no State hitherto had enacted that principle into statute law. This distinction again belongs to Virginia. The incorporation of the Episcopal Church was repealed, and this was followed by the policy of confiscating its property, a process not completed until 1802.

In one other Southern state the religious problem proved serious. That was South Carolina. There disestablishment was a political issue bound up with the reform of representation. The constitution of 1777 made a compromise. The privilege of the Anglican Church was removed by admitting other churches to incorporation, but the ideal of a relationship between religion and government was preserved, for it declared that the Christian Protestant religion should be the religion of the State and every member of the House of Representatives should be of that faith. This was not in harmony with the democratic spirit of the time and in 1790 the religious qualification was abolished and the free exercise of religion was guaranteed.

What was the significance of this controversy over religious liberty and disestablishment? It was something more than a contest for private judgment; it was a part of the democratic movement of the time, inspired by the doctrine of the equality of man and the consent of the governed. It was also a phase of the contest for power between the tidewater and the piedmont regions. The results of the movement were vastly important. It reacted on the general state of culture. In New England intellectual life tended toward the spiritual; it was dominated by theology; in the South it was materialistic, leaning toward law, philosophy, and deism. Now the triumph of religious liberty and disestablishment at first strengthened the forces of materialism and deism, and the cause of religion, whether ritualistic or evangelical, was retarded. Said Isaac Weld:

Throughout the lower part of Virginia—that is, between the mountains and the sea—the people have scarcely any sense of religion, and in the country the churches are falling into decay. As I rode along, I scarcely observed one that was not in a ruinous condition, with the windows broken, doors dropping off the hinges, and lying open to the pigs and cattle wandering about the weeds.

No greater revolution occurred in the life of the Southern people than that in the early years of the nineteenth century when, through a series of revivals, the mind of the masses was swung from the popular skepticism of the day to the fervid acceptance of the orthodox teachings of the evangelical churches.

Finally the religious controversy had an influence on political history. Jefferson espoused the cause of the religious liberty. He was widely denounced for this policy and his record was cited against him in the presidential campaigns of 1796 and 1800. Madison's share in the movement was also capitalized by his opponents. But both men had won the admiration and loyalty of thousands of Dissenters, who were for the most part small farmers and men of small means. It was therefore easy to organize them into opposition to an economic policy hostile to their interests, the policy best represented by the Hamiltonian financial measures. Indeed as a tribute to Jefferson a new church organized in 1792 was named for his party, the Republican Methodist Church.

The problem of religion was by no means the only reaction of the political philosophy of the Revolution on Southern society. Besides an established church there existed an aristocracy of wealth and political power. How far could it be justified during a war waged in behalf of equality of economic liberties and government by consent? Again the principal stage of the controversy was Virginia. There the basis of the aristocracy was the land law. Towards entails the policy of the colony was more conservative than England, for while entails might be docked by judicial proceeding in the mother country, in the colony an act of the legislature was essential unless the property was less than £200 in value. Primogeniture was strictly enforced and inheritance always descended. Because of entails and primogeniture there arose in tidewater Virginia "a distinct set of families" who formed a kind of patrician order, distinguished by the splendor and luxury of their establishments. From this order the King habitually selected his Councillors of State, the hope of which distinction devoted the whole corps to the interests and will of the Crown. Indeed society tended to stratification. At the apex were the great landowners, protected by the laws of inheritance. Below them were the half breeds, younger sons who inherited the pride but not the wealth of their parents; next the pretenders, men who had acquired wealth and property by their own efforts and were anxious to rise into the aristocratic class. Finally were the yeomen or great mass of small farmers, caring little for social distinction, on whom depended the real progress of Virginia.

More distinctly than in the question of religion the leadership in land reform was assumed by Jefferson. In October 1776, while the discussion of the church question was under way, he introduced a bill "to enable tenants in tail to convey land in fee simple." After strenuous opposition it was adopted. At one stroke the privileged position of entailed property was overthrown, for, said the law, all that "hath or hereafter may have" an estate in fee tail should stand in possession of the same "in full and absolute fee simple." That so radical a measure should have been so readily adopted is remarkable; it is ample evidence that the Revolution was more than a revolt against England. Jefferson's aim in changing the land law was to "make an opening for the aristocracy of virtue and talent, which nature has wisely provided for and scattered with equal hand through all its conditions."

But the abolition of entails was only the beginning of legal reform; there remained primogeniture, the criminal law, and the whole British heritage. These matters were referred to a committee of five. It made a report in 1779; only a few of its recommendations were then adopted, but in 1784 through the influence of Madison the report was published, and the second bulwark of landed aristocracy, primogeniture, was abolished. In its place was adopted a statute of descents. The eighteen clauses of this law are unsurpassed in all America as a species of revolt against British heritage. The rule of inheritance of the common law required the property of one dying intestate always to descend, never to ascend. A father could not inherit from a son, nor a grandfather from a grandson. Also the male issue was always preferred before the female; if there were no male heir the female heirs inherited equally. On the failure of lineal descendants the only collateral relations who could inherit were those "of the blood of the first purchaser"; that is, a kinsman, say a cousin of ten or twenty removes, would be preferred to a half brother. Now this whole structure of inheritance which had been built up in England and had been transplanted to Virginia, was swept away and intestate estates were directed to pass in equal shares to the children and their descendants; if there were none, to the father; if there was no father living, then to the mother, brothers, sisters, and their descendants; and if these were failing, the estate should be divided into two parts, one to go to the maternal kindred and the other to the paternal kindred.

This law removed the last privilege of the landed aristocracy. Its author was Jefferson. In the committee on revision Pendleton opposed it and wished to preserve the tradition of primogeniture by adopting the Hebrew principle of giving "a double portion to the elder son." Says Jefferson:

I observed that if the eldest son could eat twice as much, or do double the work, it might be a natural evidence of his right to a double portion; but being on a par in his power and wants with his brothers and sisters, he should be on a par also in the partition of the patrimony, and such was the decision of the other members.

Virginia was not alone in the reform of the land law. In South Carolina entails had been abolished in 1732 and in 1790 the rule of primogeniture was likewise set aside. Georgia in the constitution of 1777 prohibited primogeniture and required an equal division of property among the heirs. Not until 1784 was the reform accomplished in North Carolina, but the change was not so drastic as elsewhere, for male heirs were given preference over females; subsequent laws of 1795 and 1808 placed the matter on a practical parity with Virginia law.

That the course of land legislation influenced southern society profoundly was the conviction of native observers and foreign travellers. Not merely were existing entails destroyed, not merely was primogeniture abolished, but custom supported the principle. "The cases are rare, very rare," says Tucker, "in which a parent makes by his will a much more unequal division of property among his children than the law itself would make." Thus came a fairer distribution of wealth.

There is no longer a class of persons possessed of large inherited estates, who, in a luxurious and ostentatious style of living, greatly exceed the rest of the community: a much larger number of those who are wealthy have acquired their estates by their own talents or enterprise; and most of these last are commonly content with reaching the average of that more moderate standard of expense which public opinion requires, rather than the higher scale which it tolerates. Thus there were formerly many in Virginia who drove a coach and six, and now such an equipage is never seen. There were probably twice or three times as many four-horse carriages before the Revolution as there are at present, but the number of two-horse carriages may be now ten or even twenty times as great as at the former period. A few families, too, could boast of more plate than can now be met with; but the whole quantity in the country has increased twenty if not fifty fold. (*Life of Jefferson*, p. 93.)

A similar result is attributed to the abolition of primogeniture in South Carolina. Murray wrote:

The planters are generally impoverished by the division of property: they have lost many of their patrician notions (call them, if you will, prejudices). The increased commerce has raised to affluence, and consequently into fashionable society, many merchants with whom the planters would not associate on terms of intimacy fifty years ago: thus, while the society of Boston, Philadelphia, and New York is daily becoming more aristocratic, that of the Carolina capital is becoming more republican. (*Travels*, II, 188.)

Undoubtedly the Revolution wrought a change in the institution of private property and thereby altered the social structure. But the doctrine of the equality of man went further; it questioned the existing attitude of the law toward crime and the criminal and ushered in the modern humanitarian spirit. To the conservative mind of the eighteenth century severe penalties were essential; the protection of property was a supreme aim of government and the reform of the criminal was ignored. To the reformer, inspired by the doctrine of equality, penalties must be examined in the light of reason and the life and character of the criminal deserved consideration. Again the conflict between the forces of conservatism and reform centered in Virginia. There twenty-seven offenses incurred the penalty of death and among non-capital punishments were the lash, the stocks, slitting of ears, and branding. Again also the pioneer in the movement for reform was Thomas Jefferson. He was the author of a bill proportioning crimes and punishments, the pioneer of the modern humanitarian spirit. Says the statute:

And whereas the reformation of offenders, though an object worthy the attention of the laws, is not effected at all by capital punishments, which exterminate instead of reforming, and should be the last melancholy resource against those whose existence is become inconsistent with the safety of their fellow-citizens, which also weakens the State by cutting off so many, who, if reformed, might be restored sound members to society, who, even under a course of correction, might be rendered useful in various labors for the public, and would be, living, an example and long-continued spectacle to deter others from committing the like offenses. And forasmuch as the experience of all ages and countries hath shewn that cruel and sanguinary laws defeat their own purpose, by engaging the benevolence of mankind to withhold prosecutions, to smother testimony, or to listen to it with bias; and by producing in many instances a total dispensation and impunity under the names of pardon and benefit of clergy; when, if the punishment were only proportioned to the injury, men would feel it their inclination, as well as their duty, to see the laws observed; and the power of dispensation, so dangerous and mischievous, which produces crimes by holding up a hope of impunity, might totally be abolished, so that men, while contemplating to perpetrate a crime, would see their punishment ensuing as necessity, as effects their causes, etc.

For such reasons the revisors proposed to reduce the twenty-seven capital crimes to two, treason and murder, and one-half of the property of those convicted should be forfeited to the next of kin of the one killed; corporal punishment and imprisonment were to be the penalties for most other offenses; however, for a few crimes, such as disfiguring another, "by cutting out or disabling the tongue, slitting or cutting off a nose, lip, or ear, branding, otherwise shall be maimed" the principle of the *lex talionis* was to be adopted. This latter feature of the bill did not meet the approval of Jefferson. He wrote:

The *Lex Talionis*, although a restitution of the Common Law, to the simplicity of which we have generally found it so difficult to return, will be revolting to the humanized feelings of modern times. An eye for an eye, and a hand for a hand, and a tooth for a tooth, will exhibit spectacles in execution whose moral effect would be questionable; and even the *membrum pro membro* of Bracton, or the punishment of the offending member, although long authorized by our law, for the same offense in a slave, has, you know, been not long since repealed in conformity with public sentiment. This needs reconsideration.

The proposed reform met bitter opposition. Minds that could not resist the cause of religious freedom, the separation of church and state, and the reform of the land law, would not yield to the heresy that penalties should be in proportion to the crime and the causes for execution be reduced to two. And so in 1785 Jefferson's bill was rejected. However, the revision of the criminal law was bound up with another issue: that of the survival of British statutes. The Convention of 1776 had declared the statutes prior to James I binding on Virginia. The abolition of this ordinance now became the objective of the reformers. It was accomplished in 1789 when the legislature repealed the ordinance. A new commission was then appointed to revise the law and at length in 1792 a code was reported and adopted in which all English statutes were declared to have no force in Virginia. With the law thus purged of British heritage, the humanitarian spirit had freer play and in 1796, the same session in which the first public school law was adopted and a plan for gradual emancipation of slavery considered, a bill was introduced to amend the penal laws by reducing the death penalties to two, and imposing on non-capital offenses service in a penitentiary where the character of the criminal might be reformed. A new champion of the cause now appeared, George Keith Taylor. In a notable speech he assembled all the arguments of the time in favor of humanitarianism. The existing penalties, he declared, were in violation of natural rights, for in the state of nature each man defends himself, but when he repels the mischief the "law commands him to pardon the offender." Life can be taken only in case of murder. "Against all other offenses I can either obtain effectual security at first, or effectual recompense afterwards. But against the murderer I can obtain neither. . . . Necessity therefore compels me to put him to death."

This law of nature becomes the fundamental law of states because, under the social compact from which governments have their origin, no power to impose the death penalty except for murder is granted. It is

also wasteful, for society loses units of production and no recompense is made to the person injured. Benefit of clergy as means of ameliorating the law simply makes the offender a marked man.

Every one avoids him, no one chooses to give employment to a felon: but he must live, and, consequently, deprived of all means of honest subsistence, is compelled to continue his former course of iniquity.

Nor are harsh penalties in conformity to the philosophy of law. In a warm climate people are indolent and hate work; compulsory labor, therefore, is a better deterrent to crime than the threat of death. Severe laws do not improve manners; therefore adopt penalties that appeal to the sense of shame. Put into the criminal code something of the spirit of forgiveness and kindness of Christianity. Finally, let laws harmonize with the needs of population and let them not needlessly diminish the number of laborers in a land where labor is scarce.

Such were typical arguments of Taylor; they reflect as wide a reading in the social and political philosophy of the time as do writings of Jefferson or Madison. As a result the bill was not tabled but was adopted. The capital crimes were reduced to two, benefit of clergy was abolished, except for slaves, and the penitentiary was substituted for other offenses that had been capital.

Closely akin to the nascent sense of humanitarianism was the new spirit in education. As soon as the British administration collapsed, a new ideal of the obligation of the government toward intellectual training appeared; instead of a responsibility confined to the orphans and the poor, came a general obligation. Thus the State constitutions of North Carolina and Georgia clearly proclaimed the principle of State support of schools and universities. Moreover, education should be reformed and adapted to American needs rather than to European heritage. Thus during the war the Virginians reorganized the conservative College of William and Mary into a university and there were established a school of modern languages, a professorship of law, the first in the United States, and one of medicine, the second in the country. Georgia in 1783 adopted a comprehensive scheme for public high schools, one for each county, and in 1785 a plan for a State University which would include all the institutions of education in the State, and stimulate the cause of literature, was adopted. It was too advanced for actual conditions and so it remained for North Carolina to make the first practical educational achievement of the new era, the opening of the University in 1795. There is no greater tragedy in all southern history, with the exception of the survival of slavery, than the failure of the revolutionary philosophy in the realm of education. The traditions

of the past, the aversion to taxation, and the impractical, even aristocratic, character of the ideal which looked for political leadership rather than elevation of the masses, fixed its doom. A similar fate awaited the anti-slavery sentiment; to the doctrine of the equality of man, human bondage was intolerable, but no practical method of emancipation which would evade a race problem was ever formulated.

From the facts and tendencies thus outlined it is evident that the American Revolution wrought a profound reaction on the institutions and social structure of the South of colonial days. The results were religious freedom, a greater equality of property rights, reform of the criminal laws, efforts at public education and the emancipation of slaves. No wiser definition of history was ever made than the statement that it is philosophy teaching by example. What then, in the broader meaning of these terms, should the example of the Revolution contribute to our knowledge of the philosophy of politics and the nature of free society?

First of all, no great war can occur without making some modification or radical change in the internal life of the belligerent nations. Indeed I believe that war is often but one manifestation of a spirit of change or revolution working in civil as well as martial fields. At times reaction checks or opposes this spirit of change but in the end reaction gives way and readjustment takes place. Shakespeare grasped this idea in *Julius Cæsar*; he put into the mouth of Brutus just before the battle of Phillippi the memorable words:

There is a tide in the affairs of men that leads onward.

It is the task of the thoughtful and earnest citizen to know this tide, to work with it, to guide and direct it, never to seek to impede it. Such is statesmanship. The great failure of Brutus was not the loss of a battle but his failure to realize that the foundations of the Republic were already gone and that the irresistible tide of the age was toward imperialism. No fine trait of personal character, no patriotic devotion to the past can obscure this fundamental fault—that the man had not the brains to understand forces greater than his own convictions.

In the period of the Revolution Jefferson and Madison caught the meaning of the revolt against Great Britain and swung with the tide. This is the basis of their statesmanship. Those who opposed them, though estimable in personal character, have today a minor place on the page of history.

Another reflection which must come if any comparison be drawn between the problems of the Revolution and those of today, is the futility

of applying to one age the political and social philosophy of the past. The apostles of progressivism reject the social compact theory as a basis for their program. They see in the natural right of the individual to life, liberty, and happiness, *laissez faire* individualism. In contrast how often do we hear conservatives say, "Give us the democracy of Jefferson." But viewed in the light of conditions as they existed in the eighteenth century the Jeffersonian ideal could be attained only by the abolition of special privilege, whether it was the privilege of church or landowner, by a new treatment of the criminal and of the enemies of society, and a new sense of state control over intellectual discipline. This in that day and time was radicalism. Apply seriously the principle of the equality of man and the consent of the governed, even the right to life, liberty, and happiness, to modern conditions and what will be the fate of tax exemption and certain financial problems, the present attitude of courts toward labor, and even the curriculum of our schools and colleges? If any have doubts let them read Jefferson's remarks or, better still, those of his friend John Taylor, on such matters as the nature of industry, the character of government bond issues, the nature of banking, and the best working type of democracy.

In conclusion I wish to raise this pertinent question: how much of the past really lives today, how much of it do we really inherit? The answer, I believe, is, of the forms very much, of the spirit very little. Let me illustrate. The statutes of descents adopted in the period of the Revolution still live; but the condition against which they were aimed, an unequal distribution of wealth, again exists, and in the light of this fact the statutes are ineffective formulæ. The humanitarian sentiment of the Revolution today has many monuments in the shape of penal institutions; but how often is the spirit and purpose, the reformation of the offender, submerged by the monuments? Again, religious freedom undoubtedly has survived. But the principle on which that freedom is based, the liberty of the human spirit and its right to opinion, is seriously challenged. Words and sentiments expressed freely by Jefferson and Lincoln, when today uttered, too often bring prosecution and imprisonment. The old conception of the fathers, that thought and speech must be free, no longer exists. We live in an age of restraint, not of absence of restraint.

Now, since the forms rather than the spirit of the past survive, is not he who really achieves something, whether he calls it conservatism or not, breaking new ground, and is he not therefore potentially a radical?

When the Tide Began to Turn for Popular Education in North Carolina

1890-1900

By JOHN E. WHITE

President Anderson College

Of course I am greatly pleased to be here as the guest of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, but if I should attempt to tell you why I am so pleased it would involve me at once with an old problem which has worried me enough already—the problem of the sensitive psychosis of the North Carolinian living away from home. It is difficult to explain that man satisfactorily. Some months ago I sought out the old Moravian Cemetery in Winston-Salem and was there trying to locate without immediate success the grave of John Henry Boner. An elderly gentleman walking by observed my search and guided me to the spot. “Are you interested in his poetry?” he asked. “Yes—no; I am more interested in the man. He is the man who broke his heart trying to interpret the sorrow and justify the conscience of a North Carolinian forced to live somewhere else.” Standing there with this kind old gentleman, a minister of the Moravian church, I repeated the lines which North Carolinians know and love so well.

Why is it the “Tarheel” exile reacts within himself so keenly and yet so unsatisfactorily to his own conscience? He has all the inwardness of an interminable identity with North Carolina; cherishes the sense of it as a good fortune; avows the pride of it everywhere ardently; and yet feels that he is somehow guilty of a dreadful inconsistency. Have you not noticed that he is the most over-conscious North Carolinian in the world? I suppose it is because he has spoiled his right to be. He tries to make up to his conscience by protests of devotion. He revels in the zeal of the repentant renegade. I have often heard him at it on his visits home, fervently insisting that

“Tar Heel born and Tar Heel bred,”

he is going to die sometime far, far away,

“Mid pleasures and palaces,”

and that if anybody should inquire about the lonely corpse, just tell them it's

“A Tar Heel dead.”

Sometimes I have fancied that the elder brothers hear this prodigal's proposition impatiently and doubtfully, distrusting so much “Tar Heel” virtue that has to make apologies and excuses for itself. The elder

brothers never do understand and never can understand. It is only the prodigal who knows. And what he knows is this: that though he may die condemned he never was really guilty. In his *Reminiscences*, Alexander H. Stephens refers to a conversation with Reagan, of Texas, his fellow prisoner at Fort Warren after Lee's surrender, about their association and associates in Congress before the Civil War. He recalled a certain congressman named Felix O'Connell, and asked Reagan if he remembered him. "Yes, he was a very profane man and nearly always drunk." "That is true," said Stephens, "but he was the most religious man in Congress and about the only one who made it a point to attend the chaplain's prayer reverently. One day after his morning devotions in the House he took a seat beside me and said, 'Mr. Stephens, you are a Christian, aren't you? I have something to say to you, something that gnaws at my heart. My wife is a beautiful Christian, a saint on earth, and when she dies she will go right straight to heaven.' Then with broken voice he said, 'Mr. Stephens, I am afraid it will be the last I will see of her and that when I die I will go right straight to hell. But what I want to say to you is that if the good Lord does send me to hell He will lose one of the best friends He ever had in this world.'"

Now, I might have been invited somewhere else by some other literary and historical society, without wondering why; but sent for to come here under such dignified auspices, it is very different. I have heard of an Irishman who on being asked by a kind-hearted person if he would have a drink of good old apple brandy, made no reply at first, but struck an attitude and stood gazing up into the sky. "What are you looking at, Mike?" inquired his friend. "Bedad, sir," said Mike. "I thought an angel spoke to me." Somewhat so did I feel at first, Mr. President, when I received the invitation to be your guest this evening.

The second reflection on the invitation was more sobering. I began to question whether I was prepared to accept its scrutiny. Down in Atlanta we had a Deacon who was reported to his fellow Deacons as inclined to indulge over-much on occasions. A committee was appointed to visit him. They did so in due and solemn form. "Brother Henry," said the spokesman, "do you ever drink?" He looked at the committee, who were his companions and personal friends, and said, "Brethren, before I answer, may I ask you if this is an invitation or an investigation?" Your invitation to me, I assure you, was not accepted without hesitation.

It was the suggestion of your secretary that gave me at length enough confidence to venture. He indicated that I might deal profitably with North Carolina events from 1890 to 1900. I had been in a position to observe and somewhat to participate in the agitations of that period in

this State with reference to education. There were incidents and influences of historical fact and value in those times, of which no fair record had been made. Could I not, after the chastening of twenty years' absence from the State, set them in dispassionate order with emphasis only upon their bearing on the greater matters which followed after? So I am here to speak to you on "When the Tide Began to Turn for Popular Education in North Carolina."

I have referred to the disadvantages of the exile. There are some compensations. Distance does lend enchantment, and detachment does minister to judgment. I can, for instance, report on the impression North Carolina is now making for herself in the South and in the nation with more appreciation than if I were a part of it. You who are doing the work are conscious of disappointments and dissatisfactions with the State's achievements which do not trouble me. What is it that people in every section of this country are saying about North Carolina? They are saying to one another in critical comparisons, that North Carolina is the premier commonwealth of the South in progressive movements and that she is measuring pace with any State in the Union. Her achievements within twenty years have struck across the imagination of the whole country as remarkable and almost revolutionary. She has moved from the seventh place to the twenty-seventh in the value of manufactured products. She is a file leader of the nation in contribution of Federal taxes in support of the government. In the textile industry she contributes more to the demand markets and in the promotion of income to the cotton farmers of the South than any other State. She produces fifty per cent of all the lumber manufactured in the United States. She has first rank in minerals. So the reports run all along the line, of good roads and material improvements. But these things are not what attract the most astonished attention abroad. It is what the State has done in public education that makes greatest amazement. This is the achievement of fundamental relations to all other progress.

THE ASTOUNDING CONTRAST

The educational expert coming from elsewhere to survey the widely-reported progress in North Carolina would observe two facts of conclusive import about what he finds in actual operation.

First: That the State has committed itself unreservedly to the acceptance and demonstration of the democratic theory of education. What is it? It is the theory in repugnance of the aristocratic theory in education. It proposes education by the State in logical construction; that is, big and broad foundations first, with superstructures in their

practical order. To be explicit, the common schools first, secondary schools second, collegiate and technical institutions third, and without a blind alley anywhere.

Second: That popular education in North Carolina is really popular. It is enthroned in the imagination and conscience of the people. Its enterprise rests securely in the affections of the citizen heart.

Now what is the historical bearing of these two facts of attainment in 1922 on the situation of education in North Carolina from 1890 to 1900? Simply this—Within less than a quarter of a century, North Carolina has shifted her whole front in popular education. It is a complete reversal of disposition and habit for a whole people. As a social phenomenon it is most remarkable.

In 1890, the undemocratic theory of education prevailed in the practical attitude of North Carolina educational leaders. That leadership was absorbed mainly with higher education and with the emphasis of it. It was in general their conception that education would percolate in intelligence through trained leadership down to the people. At any rate, in the lack of demand from the masses justifying taxation and legislative appropriations to the common schools they found encouragement for the aristocratic policy of trying to build from the top downward. The historian will explain this without difficulty. It will be remembered that Virginia had long been reckoned as the State of educational eminence in the South. Her theory was the aristocratic theory. The University of Virginia indicated the ideal of Southern statecraft in education. Thomas Jefferson led the way. His monument was seen and revered in the University at Charlottesville. No one took the pains to notice that theoretically his original program of education provided for a structure based upon an adequate system of common schools. It was only evident that he had consumed his practical passion on the University. The University of North Carolina followed the Virginia model. The effect of it through the years fixed the status of the common schools as of subordinate importance. The University at Chapel Hill, chartered in 1789, existed in glory and wide prestige for fifty years before there was any movement to establish a public elementary school in North Carolina. The law of 1839 providing for the first elementary public school was timorous, tentative and without great purpose to overcome the backwardness of public opinion. From 1839 to 1860, there appeared one man only with a passion for popular education. Calvin H. Wiley did his heroic stint of pleading with enough discouragement to break his heart. It drove him at last back to the quiet of a Presbyterian pastorate. The public school system from his day on,

existed and carried on meagerly under depression and with no influential championship. It was not popular with the educators, nor with the people. Its maintenance was openly questioned in college centers. In 1880 the students at the University debated the question: "Ought the Public School System of North Carolina to be Abolished?" Interesting enough, as his biographer indicates, this debate was promoted by Charles B. Aycock, of Wayne County, then on the eve of graduation. In 1889, the anniversary celebration at Wake Forest College provided a similar debate on the question: "*Resolved*, That the present Public School System in North Carolina is worthy of support." When the vote was taken by the large audience, the negative won overwhelmingly. Again, curious enough, your speaker this evening represented the negative and was warmly congratulated that he had shown conclusively that the public school system was not worthy of support. If the representatives of the public school system were asked why something was not done to improve and extend the system and make the common schools more worthy of respect, they had their answer. The Supreme Court of the State up to 1900 had held that free schools were not "a necessary purpose" and therefore were confined within the constitutional limitations of taxes. That doctrine was laid down in *Paysour vs. Commissioners from Gaston County*, Judge Merriman dissenting. This meant that for the common schools only a bone was left to pick after the 66 2-3 cents limit for State and county purposes of administration had been reached. What was left could only be applied to common schools. It was true, of course, that the constitution of the State carried the mandatory clause—"a four months' public school *shall* be maintained in every district." But the Supreme Court was not greatly impressed by that and did not regard the common schools as constituting "a necessary purpose." Thus the State of North Carolina stood in 1890. No one seemed greatly troubled by it. Secondary education by the State was of course impossible, except in a few cities. In the incorporated towns under municipal taxation there were only eight graded schools with high school instruction, and only two of them attempted as much as the tenth grade. In the country districts the elementary public schools, lately defined by the Public School Commission of North Carolina as "the basic institution of democracy," averaged sixty days a year in disreputable and despised one-room houses. Only half of the children of school age pretended to attend them at all. The little dole of money available in a district was the perquisite of inefficiency and often impatiently absorbed as an inconvenience by private schools to get the public school out of the way.

WHEN THE TIDE BEGAN TO TURN

Take your stand there in 1890 and tell me what outlook is there for popular education in North Carolina? Is there anything on the horizon of hope to justify the faint prophesy of what would actually occur in twenty years? Apparently nothing. The tide is set stubbornly in difficulty, indifference and prejudice. North Carolina was on the eve of a transformation with nobody expecting it. Within five years a current will be stirred in an unexpected quarter—an agitation will suddenly spring up which will become positive and powerful in appeal for the common schools. That agitation, controversial, factional, and seemingly reactionary at outset, will challenge public interest in the common schools and will begin to turn the thoughts of public men and the feelings of the people from apathy to a fighting resolution. However men may differ in their estimate of the worthiness or the unworthiness of the initial impulse of the propaganda of the Baptists and Methodists of those days, there are two features of it no one will dispute. It was impressive in volume, characterized by great earnestness, and commanded public response. The other feature was this: The agitation after 1895 concentrated immediately in demands for adequate practical attention to the common schools. This is the story I have come to tell you.

In 1893 a change of administration at the University of North Carolina brought to that institution an assertive and aggressive leadership. This leadership went out after students and increased appropriations. Expressions emanated therefrom concerning the denominational colleges which were sharply resented. The old but suppressed antagonism between the State college and the denominational college flamed out. The county scholarship system, increasing appropriations from the legislature, and the alleged use of the State's money in loans to individual students created a situation of acute resentment. The first gun of the battle was fired by Dr. Charles E. Taylor, of Wake Forest College, in a pamphlet on "How Far Should a State Undertake to Educate?" In calm argumentative style this widely distributed pamphlet confirmed the State's right and duty to furnish primary education free to all, but disputed the State's function of free higher education. The response of protest was first heard in resolutions passed by the Roanoke Union of the Tar River Association in the summer of 1893. The Baptist Associations followed in the same line of discussion. The controversy gained headway, and at the Baptist State Convention in Elizabeth City, December, 1893, a resolution by Dr. J. D. Huffham was adopted which provided for a committee of five to seek concert of action by all the denomi-

national colleges, to memorialize the legislature, and to "secure if possible such arrangements as will enable the schools founded and controlled by citizens to do their work without unnecessary competition with the State schools." In 1894 the agitation was pressed further to the front by Dr. C. Durham, the field marshal of the Baptists. At the associations of that year and on through the next year to the day of his death in October, 1895, Dr. Durham concentrated all the passion and ability of his great personality in speeches which drew and held multitudes everywhere to sympathetic attention. The emphasis of his campaign turned more and more from the invidious note of protest against the University to the generous and patriotic appeal to North Carolinians to do their duty by the children of the State. Concurrently, in 1895, the first newspaper in the State to place the deplorable conditions of popular education before the public was the *Biblical Recorder*, then edited by Mr. J. W. Bailey. He opened up a consistent, reasonable, and increasing propaganda, showing week after week, in detail of facts and figures and arguments, what the low estate of the public school system portended for North Carolina civilization. In 1896 Dr. Durham's successor and Dr. John C. Kilgo of Trinity College joined with the editor of the *Recorder* with all their might, and the definite campaign for the common schools began to have a program with its objective in direct action for their relief. Already the new Superintendent of Education, Mr. Charles H. Mebane, elected by the Populist upheaval, had placed himself in coöperative relations with the Baptist and Methodist movement. The political conditions at that time favored the consolidation of influences for the change of State policies in education. The Populist influence woke up the Democratic masses to the sense of their powers of self-assertion. When that movement was over in 1898, the channels of popular sensation had been permanently widened and deepened in North Carolina. The Baptist Associations, and in a large degree the district Methodist Conferences, in that situation became public forums of the people, not for political discussion but for educational arousement. They passed unanimous resolutions, phrased in positive terms of demand, for a change of emphasis in education and for practical proposals to extend and improve the common schools. Three years, 1896-1898, it went on in that fashion until every section of the State had been affected and the people lined up so far as Baptists and Methodists could be properly organized for such a cause. There were two points vividly urged in behalf of popular education.

First: A change of policy, which meant a change of thinking on the part of leaders, from the aristocratic theory to the democratic theory of the public school system. It was argued after this style: "Let us

stop stacking our educational fodder from the top downward and do it according to common sense and experience, by laying the foundations first and then build thereon." It was envisioned that the public school system had no logical appeal for confidence until this was done, and that when it was done every educational interest of the State would flourish, no matter how the winds blew and the floods came, because it would be founded upon a rock. The proposition of course required direct appropriations from the Legislature to the common schools before any appropriations to higher education should be increased. The plea was for the established priority of the elementary schools in claims on educational statecraft.

Second: A change of heart on the part of the people who were immediately concerned. The condition of their schools was portrayed in heavy lines. Their inefficiency, brevity, and poverty of equipment were held up in rags and tatters. There was little note of controversy in these appeals—it was patriotic and pathetic. The spirit of coöperation with any hand stretched out for the healing of the open sore of North Carolina life was not only possible but desirable so far as the leaders of the campaign were concerned. In 1897 Dr. Charles D. McIver, who was outside the breastworks of the Baptist and Methodist agitation, and Mr. J. W. Bailey, who was distinctly a leader on the inside of it, were associated together respectively as chairman and secretary of a movement to promote a special-tax campaign. Alas for that, it was a dismal disappointment. Out of 938 districts, only seven voted the special tax. After that essay it was more evident than ever that the tide would not turn until a positive beginning had been made in the form of a pronounced policy of the General Assembly. In 1898 this was the battle-cry. The General Assembly must show the people that the State's policy was going in for the relief of the common schools and the precedence of their claims in all educational legislation. The Constitution was invoked as a challenge to the candidates for the Legislature since they were to swear to support and sustain it. They were questioned on the stump: "Will you put the common schools first in appropriation for education? Will you favor legislation to carry out as fast and far as possible the mandatory cause of the Constitution?" The election occurred in August, 1898. It soon became known that the return of the Democratic party to power would bring to Raleigh a General Assembly constituted largely of Baptists and Methodists without any significance of sectarianism, but with the great significance of fact that the Legislature was overwhelmingly strong for putting the common schools on a forward-moving program of legislation. The group of men who had led the agitation caused a bill to be drawn

appropriating out of the public treasury \$100,000 for the common schools. Mr. Charles H. Mebane's was the hand that drew that bill. It was typewritten in copy in the office of the Mission Board of the Baptist State Convention and placed in the hands of its champions in the Senate and the House: Mr. Stephen McIntyre, of Robeson, and John B. Holman, of Iredell. It went through triumphantly, though not without opposition, both from the inside and from the outside of the Legislature. Historically this action marked the sharp, initial, practical beginning of that turn in the tide for popular education which in the next fifteen years would flood the State with enthusiasm for the present public school system in North Carolina.

In the nature of reminiscence of the good fighting of that year, I venture to recall that the Democratic State Executive Committee had realized that the campaign of the *Biblical Recorder* and others had won out. From that committee assurance was voluntarily proffered that no bills carrying appropriations for higher education would be permitted to pass the Legislature without the consent of those who were leading the fight in the State for the primacy of the common schools. The pledge of the Democratic leaders came to test before the joint committee on appropriations in the Legislature at its first meeting, and the State Executive Committee made good its unasked-for pledge absolutely. The appropriations desired by the University, the State Normal College, and the A. and M. College were referred to the generosity of Mr. Bailey and Mr. White. I am glad to tell you that they were as generous as possible under the circumstances, and that from that incident onward a new *entente* of fellowship and sympathy between the State colleges and the denominational colleges began a development uninterrupted at this hour.

THE GREAT CONSUMMATION

With the dawn of 1900, seven years lay behind in which the gospel of popular education had been preached from platforms and pulpits reaching to every community in North Carolina. Public sentiment in the rural districts, aroused and sometimes inflamed, had been confirmed in repeated resolutions of public assemblies. The moribund situation had given way at the end of 1899 to the sense of something moving in a new direction for the public schools. With the dawn of 1900 conditions justified the leaders of the Democratic party in believing that a constitutional amendment carrying the 1903 educational qualification clause for white people could be passed. We know what happened in North Carolina in that year. North Carolina in all her history has never known anything better than what did happen. Due

credit certainly must be given to the constitutional amendment for its coercive effect as law upon popular education. But the greatest thing that happened was Charles B. Aycock. North Carolina found her captain, gave him his own trumpet to blow, and the children's children standard to bear. Alas our captain! our captain! Among all the things cherished and preserved by your speaker of a somewhat oratorical life, nothing is more cherished than a copy of the *Raleigh Morning Post* of January 1, 1899, which reports in eight columns an address made in behalf of popular education before the joint session of the House and Senate on the night of December 31, 1898, in which this prophecy of a great Captain was pleaded:

The president of a theological seminary was asked the other day what in his opinion was the greatest need of foreign missions. He reflected, and replied, "A great missionary." If I were asked what the indispensable necessity of popular education in North Carolina is at this hour, I would reflect and reply, "A great public man whose heart and brain, time, talents, energy, everything, is devoted to the cause of the wool-hatted and barefooted army of over 600,000 children whose only hope for instruction is in the public schools." I remarked to a gentleman yesterday that North Carolina offered the greatest opportunity for statesmanship in America. What I meant was that the condition of public education in this State, the deplorable situation with regards to our public schools in North Carolina afforded the greatest possible opportunity for some able man to be transformed from a politician into a statesman. And I believe it with all my heart that the man in the next ten years of North Carolina life who has been fashioned by nature and experience for public leadership, and who will be beside himself a fool, a crank, a dedicated, sanctified agitator for better public schools, whether parties nominate or people elect to office, or not, whether he offend or whether he please the newspapers, will create a career so persistent in its claims upon the conscience of our people, and so write himself into the history of a vital progress, and so entwine his life into the lives of thousands born and unborn, that sooner or later, when truth gets a hearing, as in God's good time it always does, that in the summing-up of achievement and the distribution of laurels, the sage of history will write his name in letters of fadeless luster.

Too eloquent by half, but a Hebrew prophet would have been very well satisfied with what was confirmed of its prophecy in North Carolina in the career of Charles B. Aycock.

The Democratic State Convention of April, 1900, that gave him its "harvest of hearts" and his nomination for Governor, met in the consciousness of great and deep emotions. It had its mind on the nomination of a man without particular regard for his gubernatorial qualities as an administrator. It had the sense of a new day which demanded a champion of democracy with especial reference to education. Before Aycock was nominated, a platform had been adopted for him to stand on. One of its planks was this:

We heartily commend the action of the General Assembly of 1899 for appropriating \$100,000 for the benefit of the public schools in the State, and pledge ourselves to increase the school fund so as to make at least a four-months term in each year in every school district in the State.

I have pleasure in remembering the phraseology because I stood by the typewriter that clicked it off on the little slip of paper which was handed in to the Committee on Platform through the Hon. Mike Justice, of Rutherford. It is needless to say that Charles B. Aycock approved and in his inaugural address quoted it as the keynote pledge of the campaign he had made for the amendment. The election of Governor Aycock relieved the Baptist Associations and the Methodist Conferences instantly of every ounce of necessity to concern themselves in resolutions about the common schools in North Carolina. It put an end to persistent editorials and passionate speeches on that subject. Quite naturally to say, from the day he was elected to this hour there has never been a flutter of agitation in that quarter. There is no question in anybody's mind, for history has guaranteed that, as to who did the grand deed of individual leadership which swept the tide for popular education in North Carolina. The man's picture hangs in my home conspicuously among my household gods—Abraham Lincoln, Lloyd George, and Woodrow Wilson—and I look at his face every day. The night before he died in Birmingham I walked up and down with him in the shed of the old union depot in Atlanta, and we talked of things that were and are and were to be—of the past and the future of his career. His was a nature of all generosity. He said in kind reference to two men whose names I will not call, "Our educational movement in North Carolina, beginning with the campaign for the amendment, found the soil prepared for it."

We know the story of 1901 to 1922. Everybody knows it, and everybody honors the men of it. We know that J. Y. Joyner became the organizing genius and the practical administrator of the great change. We know that E. C. Brooks and his colleagues have confirmed and greatly continued the advance of the public school system. No one will be allowed to forget the consuming zeal of Charles D. McIver and others. I have only given you a leaf of unwritten record which the historian cannot neglect. The pioneering of effective propaganda for the common schools in North Carolina was as I have related it. We were the first to break with a shout that had echoes in it into the dreary and complacent sea of inertia and stolid prejudice. The shibboleths of that agitation became the principles of this progress which tingles in the hearts and dances in the eyes of North Carolinians at home and abroad in 1922.

It was read in the newspapers a few months ago that when Marshal Foch, the Generalissimo of the World War, in his American tour came to the city of Detroit he was wearied to exhaustion. The clamorous applause of the multitude had ceased to arouse his interest. There the mayor of the city turned to him and told him a little story of how Hennipin had sailed into the Detroit River in 1679 and had written these words in his diary:

Those who will one day have the happiness to possess this fertile plain and pleasant strait will be very much obliged to those who have shown the way.

At these words the tears rushed to the eyes of the great soldier.

Two Wake County Editors Whose Work Has Influenced the World

By MRS. J. R. CHAMBERLAIN

History is an ordering and condensing of social detail so as to present facts as truth.

Because the study of small communities and the influence going out from them is an introduction, and indeed the best of introductions to history in its broader sense, and because such study is thoroughly fascinating by reason of its own intrinsic interest, I have chosen for my subject the work of two editors, whose personalities and the ideas they advocated are intimately twined into the progress of our county.

More than a century ago Joseph Gales became editor of the first newspaper established at the capital of North Carolina. It was a Jeffersonian sheet; it represented popular aspirations, and was the channel through which many ideas of those fermenting times were brought home to the minds, and influenced the opinions of the citizens of old North Carolina.

Joseph Gales came here in the last months of 1799. He was a remarkable man for ability, for adventure, and for wide experience of men. The fact that he was self-educated, and was at the same time an experienced journalist, made him the more skillful in sowing ideas among the plain people of our community; and he must surely have furnished the kindly leisures of our great-grandfathers with much first-hand matter to discuss. His sympathy with his chosen home, and his thorough identification of himself with it, made him a man who would be readily liked and often quoted.

Not many newspapers were published then, but those few were thoroughly read. They led public opinion. They were not so often as today mere followers of the prevalent beliefs, and intensifiers of the prejudices of their readers. Instead of walking but a few steps in front of the largest, noisiest crowd, as some so-called "yellow journals" have done, they had more originality. They were formative influences, even as viewed through the diminishing telescope of the lapse of time.

Gales had been a poor boy, born in Yorkshire, England, apprenticed to a printer; and he set up for himself in due time his own newspaper in Sheffield, already a great manufacturing town. He and his paper were identified with the best liberal Whig ideals of England, just subsequent to the defeat of the British at Yorktown—the time when Pitt and the statesmen with him bethought themselves of the reason-

ableness of those demands, which when denied to their colonies had brought on the successful war of the Revolution.

In the England of that time reform, scientific discovery, the growth of manufacturing, the increase of dissent, and the rosy dawn of the French Revolution were all mixed into a web of rapid changes. Among the advocates of the several measures of reform, Gales, by means of his influential paper, was the peer of any. He was assisted in his editorship by a wife whose antecedents were more cultured than his own, but who shared his opinions, and was a woman of the greatest talent and spirit. She was one of the early "Blue Stockings." She wrote novels, and although the work of her pioneer efforts at self-expression, as well as that of all the rest of her sister authoresses, not excepting the great Mrs. Hannah Moore herself, has gone completely out of fashion, yet their influence on their age was great. Dr. Samuel Johnson said of these ladies: "A woman's preaching or writing is like a dog's walking on his hind legs. It is not done well, but you are surprised to find it done at all." So spoke the Great Lexicographer, that knock-down joker.

Gales's partner in his publishing business in Sheffield was James Montgomery, a writer of hymns, which are still to be found in our hymn books. "Hail to the Lord's Anointed" is one, and "Hark the Song of Jubilee!" another. In the second we can still feel the breath of new hope for humanity such as men felt when France convened her first "States General." The hymn might be called a sanctified "Ca Ira."

Gales must have been aware of the first Sunday school in 1781. He afterwards became the first Sunday school superintendent in Raleigh, when union services for the little city were held in the old State House. He was a religious man. He felt a devoted admiration for Dr. Priestley of Birmingham. He did not on that account feel afraid to show friendship to Thomas Paine, that celebrated Deistic Quaker whose opportune book, "The Rights of Man," set American sentiment unitedly in the direction of the Revolution, and just in the nick of time.

Although Paine was later furnished with horns and a tail by the popular imagination, after his other work, "The Age of Reason," was printed, in which he insisted that belief in God must go the same way as submission to kings; yet he was a writer of power who had great influence in his day. Mrs. Gales said of him, when she entertained him in her house, that she found him "a gentle, kindly soul."

Dr. Priestley, the learned Unitarian divine, who interspersed his treatises on theology and early excursions into the "Higher Criticism," the first that we hear of, with books about his own scientific discoveries,

was also an intimate friend of the Galeses, and both he and his friends were caught in the same back-wash of conservative sentiment when the French killed their king.

So terribly did this deed shock Englishmen that the partisans of the French Revolution in England, of whom Edmund Burke was one, could scarcely disown all ideas connected with it hastily enough; and because some convinced liberals, *Radicals* they were then called, continued to demand prison reform and the suppression of "Rotten Boroughs," they were subjected to the persecution of Tory mobs. Dr. Priestley's laboratory apparatus was thrown into the street in Birmingham, in the same way as the types of Joseph Gales' printing office in Sheffield. Both were indicted for treason. Both had to flee to America.

Joseph Gales remained two years in Schleswig-Holstein, then a part of Denmark, there awaiting his wife, and after her coming, failing immediate departure, as they planned, because a seaworthy vessel was not at once available.

Mrs. Gales, no clinging vine she, sold out the business successfully before she went to Denmark, and the pair with their family reached Philadelphia safely in 1795.

I would like to stop and turn back here, to tell in detail how bravely Mrs. Gales faced her own mob, how she was protected in her home by the working men of Sheffield, after her husband's flight, and how, when they had begun their voyage across the ocean, when their vessel was taken by pirates, she talked these sea-hawks into letting their prey sail on unharmed to America. Arriving there, how she reproved Willie Jones for profane swearing, how she wrote the first novel ever printed in North Carolina—the first, and for so very long, the only one.

Also it would be good hunting to describe the time when the Tory authorities had to send for Joseph Gales, the printer, to quiet a wild Sheffield mob, which he was able to pacify; and to tell how Gales used his unexpected delay in Holland to learn two new languages, and the then unusual art of shorthand. How also he grew friendly with many celebrated Emigrés, and how Madame de Genlis wished to adopt the baby Altona Gales, and again, how they saw General Pichegru, of the red Revolutionary Army of France, go skating to the conquest of Holland over the ice of the River Elbe.

After all these exciting experiences the pair must have been glad to reach a quiet haven and a life of less uncertainty, when, in the fall of 1799, they came to Raleigh to start the *Raleigh Register*.

Among the North Carolina delegation to Congress, still meeting in Philadelphia, were Nathaniel Macon and Willie Jones. Both were Jeffersonians. Then as now people were divided into two opinions.

Conservatives who did not fully trust the common man, liberals who were willing to try him. At that time, much more than today, party lines were strictly drawn between these two camps. Jefferson, who was a strong enthusiast for the French ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity, gave his name to the rising party representing these sentiments.

North Carolina had at that time more population than New York State.

President Adams and the Federalists had lately passed the "Alien and Sedition Acts," which were most unpopular. North Carolina was a close State politically, and the Jeffersonians saw their opportunity. They were glad to discover in Joseph Gales, lately come to Philadelphia, an able man whose political opinions were distinctly Jeffersonian, who could worthily edit the paper they wished to start in Raleigh, that new little Capital-in-the-woods.

Gales' new paper was the old Sheffield one revived. It bore the same name, *The Register*. It was decorated with the same emblem, or heading, of the liberty pole and cap, and it expressed the same sympathy for the under dog. It professed also the same passion for reform as when it had been issued in Sheffield. Its editor was from henceforth a part of this city. He was its mayor for term after term. He became State Printer after the Jeffersonians or "Republicans" came into power.

He opened a book shop when he arrived in Raleigh, and among his first list of books for sale we find the authors Godwin, Paine, Rousseau and Adam Smith. In one of his early editorials occur these words: "What is the world but one wide family on which the Common Parent looks with the eye of equal protection." Again, "To choose a good cause is to select one which selfish men dislike."

His paper became a great disseminator of information on agricultural subjects; it published careful accounts of the discoveries and improvements which came so thickly in the beginning of the century past. Mr. Gales was always a friend to every idea which meant progress or benefit to those who could not help themselves. Education, Temperance, Gradual Abolition of Slavery, Care of the Insane, Internal Improvements—in all these questions he was far ahead of his fellow citizens.

He trained three generations of editors. His son and his son-in-law were partners in establishing and editing the *National Intelligencer*, the first Washington newspaper, which gave authoritative reports of the debates of Congress. Another son and a son's son were successively editors of Raleigh. His descendants are many and worthy today.

Such a man's influence is impossible to estimate, difficult to limit. I think we can take for granted for that time, as for this, the dearth of constructive reasoning and the lack of educational progressive leadership, and may be allowed to justify high praise of a man who supplied both to his State for many years, and indirectly to his country.

Some one has said that the axis of the earth sticks out visibly at the place which each of us calls home. In connecting the life of Mr. Gales with our center, we noted the beginning, how it was rooted in significant times of his native England, while the flowering came with us. American history has not hitherto taken enough notice of or given enough credit to our "Americans by Choice."

The second of these chosen sowers of seed, of whom I am to speak, had indeed his day in the great world, and a glorious one; but it was here on our own soil, here on our own red clay hills that he had his origin. Some day we will better value the distinction which this gives us.

The recently published *Life and Letters of Walter H. Page*, by Hendrick, is an admirably planned book, with skillful selection of those letters which best show the mind of the man. It has one fault which slaps a Wake County, North Carolina, person smartly in the face. Mr. Hendrick always thinks of Walter Page as a world figure. He would rather have him, as it seems, just happen, like Melchisedec, without genealogy or local attachment. He emphasizes this. He takes pains to tell us that Mr. Page's education was almost wholly obtained outside of North Carolina, and ignores the home influence on a young man's life and thought. He stresses the fact that Mr. Page was unappreciated, and therefore had to leave us.

Now when a man's forbears have lived for three generations in a locality, and when he himself has continuously remained there until his later teens, he can never lose the mark of his nativity, even if he wishes it very earnestly. Mr. Page never wished anything like that for a moment. People who knew him, and who knew his "folks," will maintain that he is no "bud variation" or "mutation." He was the "square-root of his ancestors."

That exquisite precision of his in the use of words, whereby things are said finally, and the nerve of a fallacy is punctured so that it can never squirm again, is not unknown as a talent in some of his kin. As a boy he could marshal his thoughts and tell them in plain, well-selected words. That he was well educated was his own doing. It was the quality of the man who went to Johns Hopkins, and to Germany, which made the education effective.

When he came to Raleigh to edit the *Chronicle* he had become a most active principle, fit to stir up a passive society. Some people are born with the love of the past in their hearts, and others with the questioning of existing institutions upon their lips. Of the latter was young Walter Page.

Imagine such a man, in the vigor of his independent youth, turned loose in a land of sore memories. Here at that time it was like the home of the old, where all is kept sacred; a place where, after supreme effort relaxed, the daily habit was to "sit in the sun and tell old tales." Being the man he was, he felt scant sympathy with all this, as a regnant mood. He did not truly estimate the depth of the post-war ennui. He did not think seriously enough of the old soldier's inevitable worship of the past.

They say that even today, in this America, there are young men who cannot get away from the World War, who cannot march breast forward into the new day. They turn back mentally, because they feel that their greatest significance as individuals is already past.

Mr. Page loved North Carolina. He saw her possibilities. He knew her latent power. He inspired many of those who have brought about, since then, the things that have counted for progress. He shot his ideas, like arrows, into the hearts of his circle of young men friends. The things he told us, the shrewd comments he injected under our hides by his keen criticism, we have never forgotten. Even till this day we are taking the time to prove that he overstated, by doing all those things which he evidently feared we might not do.

Prophets have been noted for telling unpleasant truths from the earliest times, and every young man who begins reformer is made to suffer for it.

Very soon, because we could not pay him a living for his wares, he went to fill a more conspicuous place than that of the small town editor of a weekly newspaper. The editorship of several significant periodicals culminated for him in the chair of the staid, long-established, oracular *Atlantic Monthly* of Boston. From that he went to become founder of *The World's Work*, more his own pattern of a monthly.

When he left North Carolina he took her with him. As often as he visited his old home he brought her some solution to her problems. A man is—precisely what he does. For the great "State College" which calls its thousand young men each year and teaches them to use the State's resources, for the North Carolina Woman's College which utilizes the real value of our girls' brains, so long a waste product—for the first and for the second of these educational achievements I am not

going to give him *all* the credit. Let him portion out the praise who can: so much to Page, so much to the Watauga Club, so much to those other notable apostles of better education, such as McIver and Aycock.

Whatever was done then, Page was there, in word and inspiration, at the doing of it. But perhaps his greatest service to his own State was his interest in the health welfare of our Southern country.

When Dr. Stiles, of the Education Bureau, gave in Raleigh his first semi-public lecture on the discovery of the cause of the malady which was killing so many at the South, I sat upon the front bench to hear him, the only woman there, eyed as a strange cat in the garret by the group of physicians, plus a few cotton mill executives, there assembled. The great calming satisfaction, felt when the true reason for a strange and baffling phenomenon is laid in one's hand to keep forever, was my abundant reward when I went away.

We know all about these things now. A cotton mill village, a country school, may be as rosy and as healthy as to its children as the best residence street. This also by the help of Walter Page. Yes, he has kept us on our toes, to show how well we can do, "but and if we would." We should thank him, we should honor him, we should never take it out in roasting his one novel, "The Southerner," because in it he never quite guessed the feelings of the old Confederate soldier, first defeated, and then "excoriated" by Reconstruction doings!

All the story of the great World War is not yet written. Page's acting of his own part as Ambassador to Great Britain, which I admire exceedingly, is however ready for posterity's verdict.

Some recent reviewer has called him the "Modern Franklin," inasmuch as he was the interpreter of things American to the great British Empire, when, lacking mutual understanding, we might have gone under together along with our common civilization.

He seems also to have had laid on him the task of expressing England's inarticulate soul to America, to have combated successfully the dogged determination of certain elements not to consider the inevitability of our joining the Allies.

International sympathy and international friendship was better than too much raw international candor; and here again I shall claim that old kinship; that Wake County, North Carolina, *folksyness*, alive in her distinguished son, played a part in saving the world when it reinforced the greater qualities possessed by Walter Hines Page. In North Carolina we enjoy people, we like kindly gossip, we discuss and taste the differences of personality among our friends with loving discrimination, as some more sophisticated societies forget to do.

Mr. Page filled the conceptions of the English as to true democratic ways and easy manners. He liked their individuality, and they felt it; he became to them a more idealistic Franklin, a truly democratic representative of a great Democracy. He was precisely the man; they esteemed him.

Besides all this, we read in his letters how well his heart remembered the things his boyhood knew.

How clearly we hear this when he chooses to touch that key. How he recalled the heart of the struggling woods where he roamed as a boy; how he remembered the smells of growing things outdoors under our sweltering summer sun; how he saw in his mind's eye the glorious color of a clay bank in the golden light of autumn, and heard the whirr of the partridge startling out of the blackberry thicket in early winter.

Nature he knew and loved as his boyhood had found it. The pine trees were always "kind to him." How dear to him was that "Little grove of long-leaved pines" in the country he called his own!

Yes, I take issue with his excellent biographer; he was a Southerner. He was far more that person than the gentleman in question might ever be able to guess. Because of that fact and that nurture he was a most important link, I am tempted to say the most important link in the final will united to victory of the Allies.

Missions of the Moravians in North Carolina Among Southern Indian Tribes

By EDMUND SCHWARZE, Ph.D.

Pastor Calvary Moravian Church, Winston-Salem, N. C.

History and fiction of which the American Indian is the subject are invested with peculiar fascination and interest. Those who remember the high privilege, while at school, of taking out a library book on Friday afternoons will, most likely, have a picture in their minds of the shelf upon which stood the *Leather-Stocking Tales* or other Indian books.

Historic haunts of the Indian; scenes of his special activity, good or evil; arrow-heads and other Indian relics have about them an unfailing glow of romance. Indian names are retained regardless of difficult spelling and pronunciation.

The writer has experienced all these thrills but wishes to record that, for him, the greatest interest attaching to the Indian has been to observe him responding to the Gospel. This is the best part of Indian lore.

Moravian mission history is particularly rich in this field, for the Indians ever lay near to the hearts of the Moravian brethren who were constrained by the love of Christ to send companies from their congregations in the Old World as heralds of the Gospel to the aborigines of America.

The story of this particular mission among southern tribes of the United States—only a small part of the manifold labors of the Moravians with the Indians—properly belongs into the history of Wachovia, the Moravian settlement in North Carolina which, in turn, is one of the main chapters in the history of our State.

The essential values of a human life are spiritual. Beneath the civilization, progress and prosperity of today lie spiritual fundamentals which are in the greatest danger of being overlooked in our materialistic age. Christian missions have laid this foundation and failing to maintain it will topple the whole superstructure man has built into ruin. Lest we lose our vision in the blinding glare of materialism; lest we pile *things* so high that we cannot see *God*; stories of the messengers of the Cross should continue to be written and read, and, above all, Christians need increasingly to react to the Great Commission.

The Moravian Church which undertook this mission to southern Indian tribes was organized in 1457 at the very dawn of Protestantism, by spiritually-minded followers of John Hus and embraced 400 parishes

and 200,000 members in Bohemia, Moravia, and Poland at the time when Martin Luther appeared. Seemingly crushed after the terrific convulsions of the Anti-Reformation during the Thirty Years' War, a "Hidden Seed" was preserved by God, and members of the *Unitas Fratrum* found asylum from persecution on the estate of Count Zinzendorf in Saxony in 1722. Here the Moravian Church was renewed by Divine power in 1727. Already in 1732, the first missionaries were sent to the blacks on the island of St. Thomas and the following year two brethren went to the Eskimos in Greenland. The men who were the pioneers in the evangelization of the southern Indians belonged to a church which regarded the Master's unmistakable "go" not as a suggestion nor an option, but as a *command* to be obeyed. The Moravian Brethren had one passion and only one: to make Christ known to all ranks and conditions of men.

Hence, to hear of the Indians who inhabited the New World was a desire created in the hearts of the Moravians to take to them the Gospel. Incidentally, this would give their church a home in America, where, unfettered and unhindered, the Moravian Brethren could live and develop their own life of devotion to God.

A liberal grant of land was secured in 1734 from the trustees of the Georgia colony near the town of Savannah, and early in 1735 a company of ten men arrived, each master of a trade, and thus together fitted to form a settlement. This was begun close to the town and strengthened by the arrival of additional Moravian colonists. With characteristic thoroughness, substantial homes were built and fields planted. The congregation was fully organized and could now enter upon the undertaking for which it had been sent.

Objects of the first endeavors were the *Creeks*, probably so called by English traders from the large number of creeks in their country.

Broadly considered, the Creek Nation was a confederacy of Uchees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and others, all belonging to the general family of Muskogee. Their tradition points to the country west of the Mississippi as the primeval seat of this people. There they were mound-builders. The same tradition tells of the long and arduous journey incident to their emigration from the ancestral home to the location where they were discovered by the white men. Opposed by numerous and valiant tribes, the Muskogee had fought their way to present abodes.

These were located chiefly in the northern Alabama and along the upper and middle valley of the Chattahoochee River in Georgia and the Creeks thus occupied a central position among the tribes of the Gulf States, parts of which tribes they were continually, by conquest, incorporating into their Nation.

The Creeks lived in well-constructed log houses, provided with wooden, clay-lined chimneys. Villages were permanent and arranged in a rectangle around an open space reserved for public gatherings, and especially, the annual "green corn dance"—a religious exercise of thanksgiving.

Each village had its chief and its own insignia. The work in the fields was usually done in common under the paternal supervision of the chief. Over an entire clan was the "micco" or head chief.

A curious custom divided the towns into "white" and "red"—marked by poles of these colors—which division was of great importance in deciding the policy of the Nation when an occasion for war arose: the "red" towns presenting the arguments for war; the "white" championing peace.

Characteristics of these Indians were life on a comparatively high moral plane; absence of the grosser forms of vice until corrupted by intercourse with unscrupulous whites; and eagerness to learn, coupled with great ability to master arts and crafts; vague ideas of a Supreme Being, and an immortality of the soul on a low, material basis. Conjurers and charms wielded a great influence among them.

When the English were establishing the Carolina colony the Creeks sent envoys to Charleston with offers of friendship and alliance, which treaty was made and kept inviolable up to 1773, when the continued encroachments on the Indians' land by white settlers caused repeated uprisings. During the Revolutionary War the Creeks were generally hostile to the Americans and it was not until 1795 that peace was finally concluded. Again in the War of 1812 the Creeks allied themselves with the English and perpetrated some fearful massacres before they were completely crushed and compelled to sue for peace in which contract they were forced to cede about one-half their former territory. Submissively, they retired to their reservations and ultimately were transported west of the Mississippi where they comprised one of the "Five Civilized Tribes."

The Moravian settlers in Georgia continually came in contact with Yamacraw clan of the Creeks whose chief, Tomotschatschi, was the firm friend of the whites, and he and his people paid friendly visits to the Moravians. They indicated a desire to have some of the Brethren come and live among them to teach useful arts and, especially, to tell them the "Great Word." Accordingly, in July, 1737, a Moravian missionary and wife went to live among them with intent to learn the language and to tell them of their Savior.

Further development came when General Oglethorpe agreed to provide a schoolhouse for Indian children near Tomotschatschi's village if

the Moravians would build and man the school and preach the Gospel, which offer they eagerly accepted. The house was erected on an island in the Savannah River a mile above the town and school was begun under most favorable auspices: the children readily learning to read and write and memorize verses of Scripture; their elders looking on with wonder and approval.

Then, in 1737 and 1738, came rumors of a threatened invasion of Georgia by the Spaniards from Florida, and the whole colony was called to arms. In vain the Moravian Brethren insisted on their previous agreement with the trustees, not to be required to bear arms: the ultimate verdict was that if they would not remain in Georgia as citizens they might not remain as missionaries. Thus, unexpectedly, the open door was shut. The Moravians were glad, in 1740, to accept the offer of George Whitefield to sail with him to Pennsylvania where possibilities for a Moravian settlement and missionary labors were developing. Within a few years they became firmly established around their northern center, Bethlehem, Pa., and inaugurated widespread and flourishing missions among northern Indian tribes.

A new sphere came for work in the South when leaders of the Moravian Church in England in 1749 began negotiations with Lord Granville for the purchase of a large tract of land in North Carolina. One hundred thousand acres were purchased and selected in the Piedmont section of our State for a settlement of the Brethren. The tract was named "Wachovia." As in Georgia, the two objects for the beginning in North Carolina were: holiness of life and separation for mission service.

A company of twelve men left Bethlehem, Pa., October 8, 1753, and journeyed through the trackless forests to Wachovia where they arrived on November 17 and their first settlement, Bethabara, was begun in a beautiful location five miles northwest of Winston-Salem. Salem, the principal and central town was begun in 1766 and became, in 1771, the seat of a district Moravian center around which has developed the Southern Province of the Moravian Church in America.

Attracted by kindness and hospitality, parties of Creek and Cherokee Indians soon made beaten paths to Bethabara which they called "the Dutch fort where there are good people and much bread."

Nearness to the southern Indians, so desirable for the purposes of a mission, was very dangerous during the years 1759-1761, as the Creeks and Cherokees were embroiled in the French and Indian War. Bethabara was stockaded and many refugees were accommodated. The mill supplied the surrounding country with flour during this perilous period. The Indians planned several times to attack the village. On one oc-

casion, the ringing of the church bell struck fear into their hearts and they hastily withdrew, for they imagined their plans had been discovered. Another assault was averted when the advancing savages were startled by the blast of the horn of the watchman who was merely announcing the hour.

When peace had come, the Brethren turned their attention, once more, to Indian missions. Several evangelistic tours were made into Creek and Cherokee settlements. Letters were sent to the Commandant at Fort Prince George, Cherokee country, to ascertain possibilities for a permanent mission. A courteous and favorable reply gave assurance that the Cherokees would welcome missionaries. A Cherokee chief who passed through Salem in 1775 expressed the same opinion.

Preparations to send missionaries were at once made but were broken off by the Revolutionary War and it is to be ascribed to God's merciful Providence alone that the Moravian towns were not destroyed.

Peace having been concluded and the Indian tribes having become wards of the United States Government, the Moravians resolved upon an official inspection of the Cherokee country along the Tennessee River. This was done in 1784. By the kindness of the United States agent a Council was arranged in the vicinity of Knoxville and twenty chiefs assembled. Through an interpreter the Cherokees were asked whether they wished to be instructed about their God and Creator and whether, for this purpose, a few of the good Moravian men could live among them. The head chief, Tayhill, asked time for deliberation. After two hours, he rose and said he was glad for the men who wished to come to tell them about God, "the Great Man who lives above," but he could give no definite answer until the other chiefs returned from the hunt. At the annual Council on Long Island in the Holston River they would render definite decision.

Before the expiration of the year new disputes arose involving the Cherokees in war with the neighboring states. To avoid further trouble, white people were forbidden to settle among the Indians except upon special license from the Government. For a period of fifteen years Moravian connection with the Cherokees was broken off.

In 1799, a missionary sent by the "New York Missionary Society" to the Chickasaws embodied in his report this clause which had, as some of them said, "the effect of an electric spark" on the Salem Moravians: "The Cherokees who reside in the vicinity of Tennessee are desirous of having missionaries among them."

The Executive Board in Salem at once deputed two Brethren on a reconnoitering journey. They reached Knoxville November 6, 1799, and proceeded to the Government Indian Agency at Tellico Blockhouse

where they were cordially received but learned they had come too late for that year. Three weeks before there had been 4,000 Cherokees at Tellico to receive their annual presents from the Government. Now all were on the hunt and would not return until the end of winter. The envoys from Salem set down the purpose for their coming in writing for the Commandant at Tellico who promised his good offices to secure the consent of the Chiefs. The paper ended with this sentence: "The happiness of the poor Indian is a weighty matter to our Society and the establishment of a mission among them is seriously thought of."

Captain Buttler delivered a lengthy "Talk," on the basis of this paper, to Chiefs "Little Turkey" and "Bloody Fellow" on May 9, 1800, urging them to accept the offers of the Moravians. His talk was well received by them and they promised to lay this business before the Council.

The same deputies were sent from Salem September, 1800, to treat with the Cherokees when they would gather for the annuity. They arrived in good time, and after the business of the Government was completed, a full Council of the chiefs was convened, before which the missionaries made their plea in person. Long parleys ensued. The chiefs stressed mainly their desire to have the children educated, and insisted, also, that the missionaries feed and clothe them. They adroitly avoided any reference to the preaching of the Gospel. The Council met on successive days and sometimes it seemed as if the efforts of the Moravians to gain entrance to the Cherokees would be futile. At last "Doublehead" answered for "Little Turkey" as follows:

Respecting those missionaries, it has been nearly twelve months since they paid us the first visit. Now I address myself to the chiefs of my nation. I hope it will be well understood. The desire of these gentlemen appears to be good, to instruct us and our children. These gentlemen, I hope, will make the experiment: we will be the judge from their conduct and their attention to us and our children. Should they not comply as now stated, the agent will be the judge for the red people.

The Cherokees having given permission, application was made to President Adams for license to proceed, which was granted with wide liberties and issued by the Secretary of War. Thus, after years of blocked efforts and waiting, after strenuous and fatiguing journeys beset with difficulties and sickness, after long consultations with chiefs and Government officials, the way was now open for the Moravian Church in Salem to send missionaries to live among the Cherokees.

The name applied to this tribe has no meaning in their own language. They called themselves by the name "Ani-yun-wiya," which means "real people."

Cherokees have been described as the "mountaineers of aboriginal America," and it is quite reasonable to believe that they were the original inhabitants of the southeastern portion of the United States. They could not tell, when first found by the white man, whether they possessed their land by right of discovery or by conquest.

Linguistically, the Cherokees belong to the Iroquoian stock, though grammatical differences indicate that the separation must have occurred at a very early time.

In physical appearance the Cherokees were a splendid race, tall and athletic. The women differed from those of other tribes, being tall, erect and of a willowy, delicate frame with features of perfect symmetry. Cherokees enjoyed greater longevity than any of the Indian nations: it was pure, mountain air they breathed and clear mountain streams from which they drank.

They lived in permanent villages of substantially-built log cabins and depended for livelihood chiefly upon agriculture, raising large crops of corn, beans, and pumpkins.

Cherokee women, far from being plodding squaws and slaves of their husbands, ruled the house; their power resting chiefly upon three ancient customs:

1. Marriage could be dissolved when one of the parties so wished;
2. Man and wife did not hold property in common;
3. Children belonged to the mother and her clan, hence, if man and wife disagreed, his own children and his wife's clan were against him.

There was considerable intermarriage of white men among the Cherokees at an early date. They were traders of the ante-Revolutionary period or Americans from the back settlements.

Cherokees believed in an Almighty Being who created all things; among others, he built the first Indian of red clay. They believed in a life after death, either blissful or baleful, as the result of the life lived on earth. Both good and evil spirits were recognized, and were able to live in man. Sacrifices were made and religious festivals observed in charge of sorcerers who had the Cherokees very much in their power. The Cherokees had well-defined traditions of the Deluge. Whether these date back only to teachers of the days of the Spanish invasion at the beginning of the sixteenth century or to remote antiquity, forever hidden with other mysteries about the origin of these children of the forest, is a matter of conjecture.

The first political convention between the Cherokees and the English was held in 1730. Sir Alexander Cumings was agent of King George II, and on the appointed day the Cherokees seated Sir Alexander on a

stump, well covered with furs, and stroked him with thirteen eagles' tails and sang around him from morning to night, and then, on bended knee, declared themselves to be dutiful subjects of the King.

This comity was interrupted during the French and Indian War, but peace was restored in 1761, and, in the following year, a British lieutenant, Henry Timberlake, visited Cherokee towns and persuaded three powerful chieftains to accompany him to England. They were presented to King George III, and at court exhibited a dignity and bearing in keeping with their rank as representatives of a great Nation.

During the Revolutionary War the Cherokees were powerful allies of the British until they were utterly defeated. They entered into formal treaty with the United States in 1781.

To this interesting Nation the Moravian Brethren felt constrained to come as messengers of Christ, and this mission and those of other denominations which followed the Moravian pioneers are inseparably connected with and chiefly responsible for the rapid and remarkable rise of the Cherokees in enlightenment, civilization and prosperity. Their espousal of Christianity brought them out as the most highly-developed of all Indian nations.

A kind of first-fruits of the Cherokee harvest was a Cherokee who had been taken prisoner in one of the many Delaware-Cherokee wars and brought into the vicinity of the Moravian mission among the Delawares in the Tuscarawas Valley, Ohio. Noah had remained in this neighborhood after his release, became a convert and was baptized by Moravian missionaries on July 4, 1773, twenty-eight years before the Southern mission was undertaken.

The Salem deputies, after securing the official permission of the Council, examined several tentative sites for the location of a mission, of which Conference chose a plantation of 60 acres two miles east of the Connesauga River and 80 miles south of Tellico. This tract was purchased and named "Springplace" because of several fine limestone springs thereon. Springplace was 400 miles distant from Salem by way of Knoxville, and the site of the present Springplace is Murray County, Georgia.

On the night of April 12, 1801, an inspiring service was held in the Salem Church at which the first missionaries to the Cherokees, Abraham Steiner and Gottlieb Byhan, were solemnly set apart for this office. "And when they had prayed and laid their hands on them, they sent them away."

On horseback, and with one packhorse, the two set out next morning "to prepare for the settlement of a mission by planting some ground with provision and providing an habitation." They reached Spring-

place April 20, and for several weeks remained on the neighboring plantation of a half-breed until the occupant at Springplace had removed.

Services were begun at once, held in a building on James Vann's farm and were attended by half-breed Cherokees, and white and colored persons.

The missionaries were busily occupied planting their fields and felling trees for their own dwelling. Three months after leaving Salem they could occupy their new cabin and at night, when they had lit their pine torches, they dedicated the place and themselves to the Lord.

For the first months the Brethren lived on corn bread, eggs, and coffee. Once, several Indians came to remain over night, and they shared with them what their larder afforded and it was only bread and water. They fared better when the garden yielded an abundance of vegetables.

Steiner was privileged to attend a Council at which a treaty between the United States and the Cherokees was to be concluded. Three hundred warriors had gathered for the proceedings. "Little Turkey," the head chief, did not come, and for this reason: the President of the United States did not come in person but sent deputies; therefore, "Little Turkey," principal chief of the Cherokee Nation, did not come in person but sent deputies! The commissioners laid before the chiefs the main business, namely, complaints of the neighboring states about the Indian trails, too narrow for trade and intercourse. The Government wished to make them wider. Chief "Doublehead," after all had smoked in silence for a season, arose and flatly declined the road proposition, saying, that evidently the narrow trails were wide enough for the white man to find the red man's land. Whereupon the meeting adjourned *sine die*.

A glimpse now of one of the many arduous journeys from Salem to Springplace. One of the missionaries was married in Salem, and with another missionary, the trip to Springplace was undertaken in a large, covered wagon. Friends from Salem accompanied them as far as Bethania, where a farewell service was held and the missionaries pushed on. They crossed the Little Yadkin, came over the Blue Ridge and the New River; next, the south and middle forks of the Holston River were negotiated and the party came to Knoxville and then to Tellico Blockhouse. Here the road for vehicles ended and the wagon was turned for home, the missionaries hiring a packhorse and an Indian guide for the rest of the journey. Spending the nights under the open sky they were drenched by heavy rains. Coming to the Hiwassee River they found that stream swollen. The guide put the lady across in a canoe and the

one missionary managed to get over on his horse, but when the other man attempted to follow on the packhorse, the girth tore and it was only after a desperate struggle that man and horse came to land. Coming, finally, to their station after these trials, they found that most of their household effects had been stolen and the place generally was in bad condition. Yet the diary records a praise service held that very night as it was held every night during the many years of the Springplace mission.

For the first years the outlook was dark and discouraging. The missionaries could not talk to the Indians except there chanced to be an interpreter. Moreover, the difficulties in the way of learning the language seemed insuperable. The chiefs were becoming suspicious because the promise of a school had not yet been carried out. Imagine the consternation of the missionaries when an ultimatum was sent them either to start the school without delay or to vacate Cherokee land by January first, 1804. Due to the intervention of the United States agent the threat was not carried out and the chiefs were prevailed upon to grant longer time. By Christmas, 1804, four scholars were at Springplace, two of them the sons of chiefs who had been most bitterly opposed to the mission.

Two new log houses were now erected at Springplace for dwelling and school purposes.

The year 1804 marked the beginning of a new effort among the Creeks. Col. Hawkins, the Government agent among them had spent much time in turning the Creeks from hunting, fishing, etc., to the simple manufactures, knowledge of weights and measures and the like, and he had been very successful. Consequently, when two Brethren came from Salem to the Creek country, they were cordially received by Col. Hawkins, who promised to do all in his power to assist a mission among his wards.

The Hawkins establishment was on the Flint River and being on the border of the Creek country missionaries could live here without obtaining permission from the Creeks.

The Brethren were advised to send missionaries who were artisans—carpenters, smiths, etc.—for the Creeks were very anxious to learn trades and therefore a missionary so trained could find easier entrance with the Gospel.

In 1807 two men were ready, between them representing the blacksmith, joiner and turner, gunsmith, and weaver trades. Among the Creeks their services were greatly in demand and they faithfully preached Christ where opportunity offered. Long evangelistic tours were made, for the situation at the agency did not reach many Indians.

Six years passed and the missionaries saw hopeful signs that their labor was not in vain. Then came the War of 1812, and the Creeks went on the war-path, rendering the position of the two Brethren on the Creek border extremely dangerous and finally untenable. They were recalled in 1813.

Meanwhile the light was dawning in the Cherokee Nation, its first beams arising, singularly enough, out of the school which the missionaries so much dreaded. With the coming of John Gambold and wife to the work came a new era for the Cherokees. In gifts and consecration, Gambold was eminently the man for the place and Mrs. Gambold was even more valuable. For twenty years she had been principal tutress in the school for young ladies at Bethlehem, Pa., and her talents of the highest order and lovely disposition had endeared her to students all over the country. These two gave the balance of their lives to the Cherokees, both filling a grave in the Indian country after many years of highly successful service. Under the blessing of God the mission blossomed like a rose in the desert of heathenism. When at Christmas 1806, the Cherokee scholars sang:

"Praise the Lord, for on us shineth
Christ, the sun of righteousness," etc.

the missionaries felt amply repaid for all trials they had endured in the dark years that lay behind.

The work in the school was so satisfactory that Col. Meigs, the Cherokee agent, had no difficulty in securing an annual appropriation of \$100 from the Government. More scholars were received and the curriculum was widened. Carefully the children were instructed, also, in the essentials of the Christian faith and this was beginning to tell on them and was influencing their parents.

On June 16, 1810, came the request of Margaret Vann, half-breed Cherokee, for baptism—the first fruits of this mission. She was baptized on August 13 in the large Springplace barn, set in order for the occasion, which was completely filled with reverent Cherokees. For many years, up to her death, Margaret remained a shining light in her nation. One man particularly moved at her baptism was Charles Hicks, scribe for the upper Cherokees and later principal chief of the nation. Baptized in 1813 he became, also, a principal man of God for his people.

Yes, the tide was turning. A few years ago there was stolid indifference; even hostility. Now, by a miracle of grace, a gracious influence from above, all hearts seemed open and the missionaries held the esteem of the whole nation.

The school felt the new impulse. Writing in acknowledgment of the annual appropriation to the Secretary of War, Gambold says:

Since last I wrote you, our scholars have advanced in arithmetic as far as the rule of three (Theory of Proportion—E. S.): made further progress in reading, grammar, and writing; learned by heart a little of sacred history, and likewise the first rudiments of geography. They are willing children, whom we love sincerely, and would gladly sacrifice our days in their service.

A striking testimony to the character of the work done at Springplace is given in the words of a Catholic Abbé, on a tour of the United States, who abode at Springplace for a day and night:

Judge of my surprise, in the midst of the wilderness, to find a botanic garden containing many exotic and medicinal plants; the professor, Mrs. Gambold, describing them by their Linnean names. Your missionaries have taught me more of the nature of the manner of promulgating civilization and religion in the early ages by the missionaries from Rome than all the ponderous volumes which I have read on the subject. I there saw the sons of a Cherokee Regulus learning their lesson and reading their New Testament in the morning, and drawing and painting in the afternoon, though, to be sure, in a very Cherokee style, and assisting Mrs. Gambold in her household work or Mr. Gambold in planting corn.

So successful was the school that in 1818 five of the scholars could be sent for higher education to a seminary in Cornwall, Conn., conducted by the A. B. C. F. M.* for the heathen youth of all races. The day of their departure was a high day. Mr. Gambold gave the boys \$10.00 out of his own meagre pocket; fitted two boys with his own shirts, and another with vest and trousers. A gentleman going North had the boys in charge, and they enjoyed quite a triumphal procession and were shown marked kindness everywhere and especially in Salem. At Washington, all visited ex-President Jefferson, dined with ex-President Madison and were introduced to President Monroe.

Arrived at the school, the five gave evidence of such excellent training that the Prudential Committee promptly voted \$200 for the Springplace school. One of the boys was adopted by Dr. Elias Boudinot, philanthropist, statesman, and author. All of them eventually filled careers of great usefulness; two as native helpers in the Gospel among their countrymen.

Encouragement came to Springplace from another source. The same chiefs who, a few years ago, had signed the letter threatening eviction of the missionaries now sent another letter telling them to enlarge their fields at pleasure and that they dwelt in perfect safety in the land.

* American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Congregational.

The influence of Chief Charles Hicks was having a telling effect on his countrymen. From forty, fifty, and sixty miles around they came to the meetings. This good work continued until, in the 1819, there was a signal outpouring of God's Spirit upon the whole Cherokee tribe. Many came to the missionaries with the Philippian jailer's question, "What must I do to be saved?" and men, women and children were added to the Lord.

Wrote Col. Meigs, U. S. agent: "You have succeeded as far as you and your Society could possibly expect. The persons you name as new members of your church are amongst the first characters in the Nation for understanding and respectability."

A large and commodious church was erected at Springplace in 1819.

Of missionary establishments among the Cherokees there were, in 1819, four, of which the Moravian at Springplace was oldest, established in 1801; Congregational, at Brainerd, Tenn., established 1816; Presbyterian, at Tallony, 30 miles east of Springplace, begun 1819; Baptist, in the valleys of southern North Carolina, organized 1819.

The Moravians opened a second station, 1820, at Oochgelogy, 30 miles south of Springplace, in what is now Gordon County, Georgia. A missionary couple came to this station where a large two-story house was erected with second floor arranged for church and school purposes. School was begun and gradually a congregation was gathered, and this station, too, grew in numbers and influence under the smile of God.

October, 1820, and February, 1821, brought an experience of quite another sort to the little congregation at Springplace. Margaret Vann, first convert, consistent Christian, accurate interpreter and real evangelist, lay dying. After bidding her beloved missionaries an affectionate "Good Night," after the manner of the early Christians, she "fell on sleep," and the first of the Cherokee flock that was found of Christ was the first, likewise, to see Him "face to face." A dark cloud often is followed by another. Margaret's spiritual mother, Mrs. Anna Gambold, the light and life of the Cherokee mission, kept alive for the past year only by her indomitable will and the love for the Cherokees, to whom she had poured the past sixteen years of her rich life, was called to her eternal reward the following spring and was tenderly bedded beside her Cherokee sister in the little Springplace graveyard, amid the sobs of her little Indian boy scholars who would not be consoled.

The wonderful spiritual awakening among the tribe has been noted. Just at this psychological time "Sik-wa-yi," a remarkable Cherokee who never learned to read, write or speak the English language, came forward with a stone upon which he had scratched a Cherokee alphabet of 86 characters, each representing a syllable. Visiting in a neighboring

village, he had observed that white men had a method of conveying their thoughts on paper and conceived the idea of inventing characters intelligible to his people. He submitted his alphabet to a public test of the chiefs who placed Sikwayi and his son at some distance from each other, dictated sentences to them, and, having exchanged them by trusty messengers, had each read the writing of the other.

Within five years of the acceptance of Sikwayi's invention three presses in the Cherokee forests had turned off 800,000 pages of good literature. The whole Nation became an academy for learning the alphabet and reading good books. Everywhere one could see Cherokees instructing one another in the art of reading and writing. Portions of the Scriptures appeared and, at length, the whole Bible in Cherokee was ready, the scholarly work of Dr. S. A. Worcester, Presbyterian missionary among the Cherokees. The Moravian liturgy and hymns were printed. (Copies of these Cherokee editions are preserved in the Salem archives.) Appeared a national paper, also, *The Cherokee Phoenix*, edited by one of the five former Moravian scholars whom we have followed from Springplace to the Cornwall Seminary. In fine, the Cherokees became a literary Nation and advanced in civilization and in the Christian religion by leaps and bounds.

Into this glorious sunshine of material, mental and spiritual progress came the ominous shadows of gathering clouds followed by the storm of the expatriation of the Cherokee Nation.

In 1802 a convention was entered into between the United States and Georgia which resulted in an agreement by which that State ceded to the United States all its territory west of the Chattahoochee River—out of which Alabama and Mississippi were formed—the United States promising to pay \$1,250,000 and to extinguish the claims of Indians within the new boundaries of Georgia. The Cherokees clung tenaciously to the idea of tribal autonomy, as did the other civilized tribes, and Georgia began to insist more and more strongly that the Federal Government carry out its agreement. A new home for the red man had become necessary, hence "Indian Territory," that great reservation west of the Mississippi, carved out of the immense "Louisiana Purchase" of the year 1803.

With carefully coördinated plans between Federal and Georgia governments the removal to the western lands could have been accomplished with a minimum of suffering for the Indians. The facts of the case are that it was not so carried out. State and Government authorities seemed hopelessly at variance, and the Cherokees were caught between the upper and nether millstones.

The Cherokees themselves were divided on the issue, and there were two factions: the "Ross Party," opposed to treaty and removal, and the "Ridge Party," favoring a treaty on the best terms obtainable, perceiving the futility of further opposition. The Senate in May, 1836, ratified a treaty with representatives of the latter, and this led to bitter feud between the parties.

In consequence, one of the saddest stories in American history is that of the removal of the Cherokees from their Eastern homes. Between sixteen and seventeen thousand men, women and children left Brainerd in the fall of 1838 with a winter's journey before them. Rigors of the weather and ravages of disease attacked the exiles with dreadful fatality and soon the great caravan became a monstrous funeral procession. The time of travel increased to ten months, and at the end of the journey one-fourth of the company had found graves by the wayside.

When these storm clouds broke over the Cherokees their fury struck the mission stations also. Missionaries were arrested, but later released. The Cherokee lands having been previously distributed by lots, Oochelogy was seized, and on January 1, 1833, claimants presented themselves for Springplace. The missionaries sought refuge across the Tennessee line. The intruders had brought with them plenty of whiskey, and when night came Springplace, where for many years each night had resounded the Indian children's sweet song of praise and the voices of united prayer, echoed with the discordant sounds of drunkenness and revelry.

For several years the Moravian mission was maintained in Tennessee. At the last solemn Communion service before the Moravian Cherokees took their staff in hand, the missionaries announced that the Society in Salem had resolved to reestablish the mission in the new territory.

Accordingly in September, 1838, three Brethren set out in a sturdy covered wagon "Westward Ho!" They were forty-one days on the journey of over 800 miles.

The large reservation for the Cherokees lay in the northeast corner of the Territory and covered about 3,800 square miles. Here the tribe was settled, and gradually the breaches between opposing parties were healed. Then followed for the Nation years of wonderful prosperity and advancement—political, educational, and spiritual.

Of the Moravian mission in the new land only an outline can be given in the limited time of this paper. Four main stations and over a score of preaching places were established. Schools were maintained with splendid results until the Cherokee free schools and national seminaries to a large degree superseded the denominational school. There were repeated, spiritual revivals of religion and hundreds of Cherokees

entered the Moravian household of faith. Moravian methods were slow but thorough. The long years of the maintenance of the mission show scarcely any lapses into heathenism, and Moravian converts were conspicuous in positions of responsibility—schools, business enterprises, and offices of government.

Other denominations prospered greatly. The Cherokees had embraced Christianity and were experiencing that "Godliness is profitable unto all things," good houses, good churches, good schools, law and order, material prosperity, spiritual blessing, and life eternal.

The heroic sacrifices entailed upon the southern Moravian Church and upon missionaries make the story of the work in the Territory a romance in the annals of God's Kingdom. Time fails to tell of the death of two young wives of missionaries, far from home and kindred, within the space of a few days, the husband of one making the caskets for both handmaidens of the Lord while blinding tears hindered his work. Diaries of the thousand-mile horse-and-carriage journeys repeatedly undertaken by missionaries and members of the Mission Board from Salem to Indian Territory are fascinating chapters of the narrative. On one such journey of visitation an aged Bishop of the church ventured with presentiment that he would never return alive. He died in Stone County, Mo., on the return journey and was buried by his faithful companion and sympathetic strangers. Later his body was brought to Salem. Within a few days of the Bishop's death one of the missionaries died and the widow and little fatherless children made the sad, thousand-mile journey homeward.

Came the convulsion of the Civil War which brought again a divided Cherokee Nation. One missionary was arrested and imprisoned for several months; another was murdered by a party of Cherokees and his body, mutilated by hogs, was found by the half-grown son of the arrested missionary. He and his mother dug a shallow grave. Within a few weeks the widow had succumbed to the shock. One of the stations was set on fire by hostile Cherokees and completely destroyed. The whole mission was disrupted for the remainder of the strife.

Rehabilitated after the war, the mission continued for three decades, though carried on with increasing cost and difficulties, owing to the great distance from the home base of the church. One fatal defect of the Moravian mission lay in the failure to train the Cherokees to contribute to the work and to feel responsibility for their mission. Under these conditions the work depended for its life upon contributions from the Salem Church and the products of two 160-acre farms upon which the principal stations were located. Under the Curtis Act, a comprehensive legislative provision of Congress, finally ratified by the Chero-

kees in 1899, Federal jurisdiction was extended over the entire Territory, lands were allotted in severalty and the Indians became citizens of the United States. By the provisions of this law, churches were allowed but four acres each and the Moravian Board deemed it impossible to continue the work on this basis. Hence the venerable mission among Creeks and Cherokees, extending over 164 years, came to an end in 1899, work among Indians in Canada and Southern California in a measure compensating for its loss.

After a few years the Danish Lutheran Church entered the sphere of Moravian labors in the Territory. There are Moravian Cherokees still living, now under the care of this church.

Had there been in the latter days spirits of the calibre of Chief Charles Hicks, of the old Springplace, Georgia, mission, there would be flourishing churches today in the Territory.

The influence of the Moravian pioneer mission in the civilization and uplift of an entire Indian tribe is beyond estimation. The results of the mission are conserved in our Father's House. Its hundreds of Cherokee converts are at home with God, together with their missionaries who loved not their own lives unto death to bring to them the Gospel.

Other denominations have nobly carried on the work and share its triumph.

And in the Cherokee harvest the Lord "shall see of the travail of his soul, and shall be satisfied."

Concerning a History of North Carolina Administrative Departments

By C. C. PEARSON
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There is no history of any North Carolina State executive or administrative department, board or commission. This lack, however, is the rule in other States also; and it is only recently that departments of the Federal Government have received serious historical attention. Nor does the statement refer to special studies only. Our general histories, State and National, devote little attention to ordinary administration save when it has been extraordinarily bad. Yet consider the magnitude and importance of this work. The North Carolina Blue Book of 1918 lists twenty-eight separate State departments or boards or commissions, and if we add the boards of educational and charitable institutions (as we should do) the total was sixty-one. Save for the small sums that go to members of the Legislature and the courts it is these that spend the tax money. One of them is now in process of spending a minimum of fifty millions in a great construction program. Another claims to be saving ordinary citizens one and a half millions a year in "cost values" and many millions more in "vital values." We have it on eminent authority that another has more power than Julius Cæsar ever had—power over property, revenue and politics. Certainly in the course of their normal activities they reach into every factory, school and home with hands that help or hinder in no uncertain way. To these considerations let us add that some of them are very old, tracing their lineage in unbroken descent from colonial days, with a wealth of family records and traditions and perhaps, like our State Department, with offspring of no mean importance. These facts, I think, justify the inquiry: Ought we not (1) secure special historical studies of our administrative agencies and (2) incorporate their findings in our general histories? And if the undertaking is desirable, should not this Society lend encouragement and assistance?

Let us approach our first inquiry by considering the character of the suggested special studies. They should be monographs, I am sure. Each will show, of course, the origin of the institution treated: was it in imitation of some other State or intended to satisfy some new want of society? If the latter, was it political or economic and social in nature? Was it a want of all the people or of some class or group? How was sentiment in its favor developed, how crystallized and forced upon the

attention of the Legislature? Perhaps there was an organized "movement" in favor of the idea and an organized opposition; these must be analyzed and described. The study will show the powers of the institution and the machinery for giving them effect, carefully discriminating between real and nominal powers and clearly showing what could be done and how. If clumsiness or crookedness of law-making rendered the attempt abortive, this fact will be recorded. Since needs change, powers and machinery change; hence both must be traced in their development. Above all, the study must show how the office functioned, and in so doing it will take us away from the central office down to the county and the township and the individual—will show how much the individual was controlled, how much served, and how much taxed for each specific service. And lastly, it will describe the men who organized and ran the institution, our civil servants or masters.

Now what specific needs would such special studies meet? The question must be answered, for in these days one may not encourage lightly a new series of monographs. The data supplied would certainly be very useful to our public men, our teachers and our general historians. Our public men usually approach an institutional topic from the historical viewpoint; consider, for example, the almost invariable compilations which precede a constitutional convention—in States where such assemblages are still permitted! And how can an administrator check his work and his ideas save by others' records? You say, he himself can look up the matter in laws, messages and reports. Can he? Only, I think, if he possesses the qualities of both administrator and historian, and the time of both. And consider the student of "Government." He, too, must approach matters historically. Where can he get his facts? Yet there are many of this tribe, their number is growing, and they are going to play a conspicuous part in affairs of state. What a boon it would be to have, for example, data that illustrates how the public makes up its mind and how laws and officers are helpless before this public opinion! And how could we obtain such abundant and concrete testimony as from an auditor who naively admitted the failure of a new tax law in the face of general opposition to paying the tax in the nineties or from prohibition officers who might allege the same in our own times?

There remains to be stated the chief service which such studies would render. They would provide, I think, materials for the writers of our general histories and perhaps (let us say it to provoke discussion) suggest new points of view. The capacity of our recent historians requires us to assume that they have been waiting for such careful preliminary work. For their stories are not rounded out and the lessons which these

stories should teach are sometimes lacking. For example, among our favorite topics are movements, elections, personages, economic and social progress, and political theory. Now is the story of, say, a farmers' movement complete until we know whether the department and the commission to which it led actually obtained for farmers the results which they sought? Elections, indeed, are often but games between rival factions; but is the story of the game more important than the checking of the candidate's promises against his post-election performance? And is it not time that we give to the man who year by year keeps the machinery of government going the same fullness of honorable mention that we accord to him who acted well in an emergency? Taxation statistics are dull and hard to remember; but how they could be made to illuminate the historian's paragraphs on social morality! And how could a better commentary on our changing theory of the State be written than by a simple narrative of the departments' expanding services in everyday affairs? We began with a theory of political democracy, and we have given it a wonderful practical application. We began also with a theory of *laissez faire*, but we have 'bout-faced toward State socialism. This change is profoundly important. Our people must be taught by their historians why it came about and how it came about and how it affects their individual lives. And I for one believe that historians must show likewise why we have had to change so largely from a government by laws to government by commissions, and how improper organization of our administrative agencies has cost and is costing us heavily in dollars and in service.

To this argument it may be replied that State administrative agencies have but recently become of first rate importance. I answer, So much the better. If we hurry we can make our history take the dominant note of our times. That note is social. If we do not, how can we expect to influence our generation?

I shall have to admit that the task will be difficult and lacking in romantic interest. The bulkiness of our recent records, especially our newspaper records, is discouraging and their omissions alarming. Omissions we may supply, if we hurry, from the recollections of pioneer participants. The wisdom of the Society will, I think, readily suggest methods for stimulating interest and perhaps for diminishing the labor of the task.

The Use of Books and Libraries in North Carolina

By LOUIS R. WILSON

Librarian of the University of North Carolina

Speaking in Greensboro before the graduating class of the State Normal and Industrial School in June, 1897, the late Walter Hines Page, in the course of an address entitled "The Forgotten Man," said:

There are no great libraries in the State, nor do the people yet read, nor have the publishing houses yet reckoned them as patrons, except the publishers of school books.

That was a quarter of a century ago, just when the first public library in North Carolina was being established in Durham, and three years before the State Literary and Historical Association proposed the establishment of what have come to be known as the thirty-dollar school libraries.

Since 1897 the situation, which Mr. Page so correctly described, has vastly improved. But the improvement has fallen so far short of what it is desirable it should be that recent investigations made by Mr. Ben Dixon McNeill and Miss Nell Battle Lewis, of the *News and Observer*, and by the editors of the *University News Letter*, prove conclusively that what Mr. Page said in the late 1890's is relatively true in the early 1920's. Today North Carolina has no truly great library running up into the hundreds of thousands of volumes, North Carolinians by and large are not yet a reading people, and the publishing houses, other than those that publish school texts or high priced but little used subscription sets sold by agents, have not reckoned North Carolinians as their patrons, despite the fact that the State stands fifth in the total value of its agricultural products, ninth or tenth in the amount of Federal income taxes it pays, and is building roads at the rate of \$50,000,000 biennially.

Mr. Page offered no statistics in support of his statement. In the discussion which follows statistics are offered not so much for the purpose of supporting the statement as for showing just what the situation is in the State in order that proper measures may be devised to change the situation for the better.

PUBLIC LIBRARIES

According to the statistics appearing in the June, 1922, issue of *The North Carolina Library Bulletin*, only 35 of the 62 towns in the State having populations of from 2,000 to 48,000 possessed public libraries,

and the total number of public and semi-public libraries for 100 counties and a total population of approximately 2,600,000 was 64 for white people and three for negroes. These 67 libraries contained a total of 213,408 volumes (or one book to every 12 men, women and children), a number which causes the State to rank 47th among the sisterhood of States, and which exceeds the number of automobiles and motor vehicles housed in garages in the State by only 64,981. Furthermore, 30 of these 64 libraries reported incomes for all purposes ranging from \$16.95 to \$950.17, and the 64 plus the 3 colored libraries reported a total income of only \$83,031, or 3¼ cents per man, woman, and child for all North Carolina. Winston, with a population of 48,395, led with \$8,861, a per capita expenditure of 18 cents, whereas the standard recommended by the American Library Association is \$1, or five times as much. Charlotte, Raleigh, and Greensboro had library incomes slightly above \$8,000, while Asheville and Durham received \$7,445 and \$6,757 respectively.

Similarly, statistics concerning the addition of new volumes, the number of borrowers in the State, and the total circulation, show that although there were only 191,246 volumes on the shelves at the beginning of the year, only 22,162 new volumes—less than one to every 100 inhabitants—were added during the year, that only 85,882 inhabitants—one in every thirty—were registered as borrowers, and the total circulation of the 213,408 volumes among the 85,882, not the 2,600,000, was 727,905. Asheville, with a book collection of 10,949 and a population of 28,504, circulated 99,218 volumes, the largest total for any North Carolina city, which, when measured by the standard American library turnover of five per capita, should have been 142,520, or 42 per cent greater than it actually was. In addition to these loans, the North Carolina Library Commission circulated 616 traveling libraries of 40 volumes each in 414 stations in 98 counties, and loaned a total of 15,659 titles through its package library service. But with all this done, the circulation of public library books involved not more than 100,000 families or 500,000 men, women, and children, leaving the remaining 2,100,000 inhabitants without public library service.

SCHOOL AND COLLEGE LIBRARIES

The school population of North Carolina today is approximately 900,000. Of this number 850,000 are pupils in the common schools, 40,000 are pupils in high schools, and 10,000 are college students.

Prior to March, 1901, the common schools had, practically speaking, no books. By legislative enactment in 1901 provision was made for the establishment of \$30 original libraries containing an average of 85

volumes, and later \$15 supplementary libraries containing 35 volumes. On November 30, 1920, there were 4960 of the original libraries, containing a total of approximately 421,600 volumes and costing \$148,500, and 2,331 of the supplementary libraries, containing 81,565 volumes and costing \$34,965. One half of the common schools of the State had no libraries at all. That is, in the twenty years from 1901 to 1920, \$183,768 was spent to acquire 503,165 books for one-half of the school children of the State to read. To date, the other half have gone bookless, except as they have drawn upon funds other than those appropriated by the State and counties.

In addition to the fact that no provision has been made for one-half of the schools, it is also true that failure to provide the most careful sort of oversight has resulted in many instances in only their partial use. Questionnaires covering the white schools of Orange, Guilford, and Wayne counties for 1921-22 show the following situation:

Orange County.—Of 48 white schools in Orange, including the graded schools of Chapel Hill and Hillsboro, seven have no libraries whatever, and the 1,586 pupils enrolled have access to a total of 3,692 volumes, or slightly more than two books per pupil. Eighteen of the 41 libraries are open only during the session. In answer to the direct question, How much are the books used during term time? ten out of the 25 teachers answering responded, Not very much! One high school spent \$150 for new books. Three other schools spent \$10, \$20, and \$5 respectively for new books. The other 44 spent nothing. Four schools subscribed for a total of 23 newspapers and magazines, the other 44 for none. Practically every teacher reported the presence of some books in the homes of the pupils, but one concluded the questionnaire with the comment that the patrons seemed to take scarcely any interest in schools, books, or newspapers.

Guilford County.—In Guilford County 70 schools reported 7,333 pupils enrolled. The city schools of Greensboro, which own from 10,000 to 12,000 volumes, and which are spending \$2,000 for books and \$250 for periodicals this year, were not included. Forty-six of the schools taught only the first seven grades; 24 taught from one to four grades of high school subjects. Sixty-two of the 70 had libraries with a total of 8,975 volumes. Only 25 of the libraries were open in the summer. 29 reported a monthly total circulation of 1,165 or 40 volumes per school, and only \$743.15, or ten cents per pupil, was spent for new books during the year. Twenty schools possessed an encyclopedia, 27 an unabridged dictionary, and 15 subscribed for newspapers and magazines. The others lacked these indispensable aids to first-class school work. Teachers indicated the presence of books and papers in the majority of homes,

and a number of schools reported the use of library material from the public library at Greensboro which maintains a county service.

Wayne County.—Forty-eight schools outside of Goldsboro in Wayne County reported 3,331 pupils enrolled. Forty-five possessed libraries totaling 4,041 volumes, and 24 were open in the summer. Fourteen schools reported a total monthly circulation of 254 volumes or an average of 18 per school per month. Nineteen schools reported efforts to improve their libraries, a total of \$195.10 having been raised for this purpose. Nine schools owned an encyclopedia, 26 an unabridged dictionary, and 13 subscribed for periodicals. Forty of the teachers reported the presence of papers and magazines in the homes of the pupils, and 37 the presence of books.

HIGH SCHOOL LIBRARIES

Figures for high school libraries in North Carolina are practically non-existent. No special fund other than that for the \$30 and \$15 libraries has been appropriated by the State and counties for the purchase of books for high school libraries, and as a result no record has been kept by the State Department of Education. Schools here and there have secured funds for books in various ways, but, except in the case of a few of the larger city high schools, no permanent policy has been provided for their steady adequate upbuilding. Only in 1921 was the possession of a library of 300 volumes by junior high schools and 500 volumes by senior high schools set by the State Educational Department as a prerequisite to being placed in the class of accredited schools, and an adequate list prepared by the State High School Inspector from which the books could be selected.

Book Collections Small.—How deplorable the situation has been was indicated by the answers to a questionnaire concerning high school facilities submitted to 100 Freshmen in the University in 1921-22. Of the 100 Freshmen, 96 replied that they had the use of some form of library in high school. Four had not. Seventy-six reported the presence of reference books in the school library. Eighty-five had access to an encyclopedia or unabridged dictionary, fifty-eight to an atlas, and thirty-nine, through their connection with the High School Debating Union, had used package library material from the University Library and twenty-six from the North Carolina Library Commission. Only 33 had had access to a public library, had learned how to use a dictionary-card catalogue, and were able on the first day of their college career, to use the tools which a great college library places at the disposal of its students. To the other 67 the card catalogue, the periodical

indexes, the bibliographical works, the whole library, in fact, around which their college work should revolve, was an unknown quantity. These 67 presented the necessary 15 units in English, history, science, and language. But the fundamental unit, the unit of knowing how to use a well-equipped modern library, they, and their less fortunate high school classmates who stayed at home and whose future self-education is almost entirely dependent upon the use of what Carlyle called the peoples' university—the public library—they failed to acquire.

COLLEGE LIBRARIES

College libraries, seemingly, have fared better than any other class in the State. From the report appearing in *The North Carolina Library Bulletin* for June, 1922, there were 416,353 volumes in the libraries of 26 North Carolina colleges, the State Library, and the Library of the Supreme Court, and 27,960 were in the libraries of six colored institutions. The grand total was 444,313 volumes, the largest single collection being that of the University, which numbered 108,405 volumes. These same institutions added a total of 25,479 new books during the year and regularly received 2,807 newspapers and periodicals of a permanent nature. No statistics of income and expenditure were given. Six of the institutions added less than 100 volumes during the year. The actual figures were from 16 to 62. Five added between 101 and 200 volumes, nine between 201 and 500, four between 501 and 1,000, six between 1,001 and 2,000, one between 2,001 and 8,000 and one over 8,000. The grand total including State Library and Supreme Court, was only 25,479, a total less by 505 than the 25,984 added to the library of the University of California alone. The Library of the University of Michigan came within 26 of the total, Yale doubled it, and Harvard, with 73,100 volumes, practically trebled it!

Total Collections Small.—Not only are the annual additions small, but the collections to which they are added are far too limited. To add 16 volumes to a collection, which at the end of the year totals only 2,014, is quite different from adding 2,047 to a collection, which at the end of the year totals 59,000, or 25,453, in the case of Michigan, to an exclusive total of 457,847.

As compared with the libraries of colleges and universities in the North and West, the libraries of these North Carolina institutions are fearfully outdistanced. Wesleyan University, the Methodist College of Connecticut, had 125,100 volumes in 1921. Haverford College, the Friends' college, of Pennsylvania, had 80,000; the State Normal College of Michigan had 45,000; the State Agricultural College of Iowa had

80,000; Wellesley and Smith, two colleges for women in Massachusetts, had 100,000 and 78,600 respectively, and the collections at Johns Hopkins and Princeton, not to mention the really big collections of Columbia and Yale and Harvard, ran well up beyond the quarter-of-a-million mark.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

Since Mr. Page made his address in Greensboro, newspapers and magazines have sprung up on every hand. Daily rural free delivery has penetrated every quarter and, seemingly, the State has made a tremendous advance in its reading of these two types of literature. But when a study of the circulations of these types of publication is made, it becomes evident that North Carolina ranks approximately 44th or 45th from the top among the 48 states in its reading of material of this sort. According to *The Editor and Publisher* for June 10, 1922, North Carolina's 9 morning and 27 afternoon dailies were circulating 188,781 copies, or one copy to every 13.5 inhabitants. Massachusetts led the country with a circulation of one copy to every 1.9 inhabitants. The average for the United States was one copy to every 3.6 persons. North Carolina ranked 45th from the top, or 4th from the bottom, with South Carolina, New Mexico, and Mississippi below. The mailing lists of the *Greensboro Daily News*, *News and Observer*, *Charlotte Observer*, *North Carolina Christian Advocate*, *Biblical Recorder*, *Charity and Children*, *Orphan's Friend*, and *University News Letter*, run from 17,500 to 30,000 and, if read by an average of 5 persons, reach from 87,500 to 150,000 people, while *The Progressive Farmer* and *The North Carolina Health Bulletin*, with 50,000 circulation, reach approximately 250,000 people, or one in every 10 in the State.

Unpleasant Facts.—Statistics published in 1921 by the circulation and advertising departments of *The Ladies' Home Journal*, *The Literary Digest*, and *The Saturday Evening Post*—three of the most popular and widely disseminated journals of the country—show that North Carolina ranks low in her reading of these publications.

One North Carolinian out of every 138 received a copy of *The Literary Digest* in 1921, while the average for the United States was one in every 85. Only one person in 149 in North Carolina received a copy of *The Saturday Evening Post*, against an average of one in every 50 throughout the rest of the country. North Carolina postmasters and news agencies delivered one copy of *The Ladies' Home Journal* to one person in 116, whereas their colleagues throughout the country did practically twice as big business. Stated differently in the terms of rank among the forty-eight states, Oregon, which is a much younger State

than North Carolina, and has its Japanese problem, ranks first in the circulation of *The Ladies' Home Journal* with one copy to every 33 inhabitants, North Carolina ranks 40th, with one copy to every 117, and Mississippi stands at the bottom with one copy to every 181 of her citizens. In the case of *The Literary Digest* and *The Saturday Evening Post*, North Carolina ranks 42d and 46th respectively, while 73-year-old California leads in both instances with one copy to every 41 and 22 inhabitants respectively.

Among Ourselves.—Coming closer home than California, North Carolina makes a poor showing among her immediate neighbors. In the case of *The Ladies' Home Journal* (the State makes its best showing in its reading of this publication, thanks to the women, rather than in *The Literary Digest* and *The Saturday Evening Post*) North Carolina ranks 40th. Florida (assisted by her tourists, possibly) ranks 25th; Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, Virginia, and Texas also stand ahead of her. Tennessee equals her, and Kentucky, Arkansas, Georgia, South Carolina, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Mississippi stand below her.

In the case of *The Literary Digest* Arkansas, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, Kentucky, and Mississippi fall below her, whereas in the case of *The Saturday Evening Post* all outrank her except Mississippi and South Carolina.

County Quotas.—Coming still closer home, the analyses of circulations furnished by these three journals together with *The Progressive Farmer* make clear the further fact that not all North Carolina counties read equally. The national advertiser who runs a page advertisement in *The Literary Digest*, for example, does not have the same number per capita of readers in all of the 100 counties. Only 3 copies of this publication were received by or sold to residents of Graham county during the week in April, 1921, when the audit was made. But even with that the average of one copy to every 1,624 inhabitants was higher than that of Alleghany with 4 copies distributed over a total population of 7,403, or one copy to every 1,850 inhabitants! Buncombe, on the other hand, with its 64,148 inhabitants, received 1,454 copies, or one copy to every 44 inhabitants, and thereby led the State, while Mecklenburg, New Hanover, Pasquotank, and Wake followed in close order with 65, 67, 70, and 73 respectively.

Among the Farmers.—An analysis of the circulation of the *Progressive Farmer* shows the same thing, with the difference that the leadership passes from Buncombe to Randolph. Randolph, with a total mailing list of 978 (at the time the audit was made), led with one copy to every 31 inhabitants. Buncombe dropped to 88th position with one copy

to every 117 inhabitants, and Alleghany, moved up six places from the bottom to 94th, with one copy to every 160 of her citizens, yielding the lowest position to Dare with a total of twelve copies to a population of 5,115, or one paper to every 426.

Combined Circulation.—Analyses of the circulations of single papers, however, do not give an adequate picture of what North Carolina counties read. Consequently, the combined circulations of *The Literary Digest*, *The Ladies' Home Journal*, *The Saturday Evening Post* and *The Progressive Farmer* give a cross-section picture of North Carolina reading never given before, and one which should receive the careful study of every one interested in the economic as well as the social and cultural development of the State.

Buncombe, with a total of 5,000 copies of the four papers combined, leads with the highest per capita circulation of one copy to every 13 inhabitants. Mecklenburg has the greatest total, 5,310, but ranks 3d, being outdistanced by New Hanover with a total of 2,967, or one paper to every 15 people. Forsyth, in spite of the fact that it contains the largest city in the State, is outranked by 16 counties.

At the other end of the table Alleghany, Ashe, and Graham fill the 98th, 99th, and 100th positions, the 1,472 inhabitants of Graham receiving 1 copy of *The Ladies' Home Journal*, 2 copies of *The Saturday Evening Post*, 3 copies of *The Literary Digest*, and 20 of *The Progressive Farmer*—26 copies all told, or one to every 187 inhabitants.

From even a most superficial study of this picture, two facts are distinctly clear. North Carolina is not reading her quota of the standard journals of the country; and the counties which do not contain large cities, with highly organized public libraries, bookstores, and news-stands, read far less than those that have these facilities.

Two other observations might be made. North Carolina country areas are largely unaware of what the rest of the world is thinking about, so far as it is reflected in the magazines of the day; and the high average for Buncombe and Moore counties (in which the principal tourists resorts of North Carolina are located) may be due to the visitors rather than home-stayers!

BOOKSTORES AND NEWS-STANDS

Data concerning the sales of bookstores and news-stands is extremely meagre. A canvass of representative stores in Asheville, Charlotte, Winston, Greensboro, Durham, Raleigh, and Wilmington, for example, showed total sales as follows of four books which were widely read throughout the rest of the country; *Main Street*, 1,180; *Outline of*

History, 239; *Economic Consequences of Peace*, 3; *If Winter Comes*, 784. Requests made upon bookstores for information concerning sales of books published by local authors were answered negatively, with the result that data had to be obtained direct from the authors, the chief purport of which was that books like Hamilton's *Reconstruction*, Brooks' *North Carolina Poems*, Avery's *Idle Comments*, McNiell's *Songs Merry and Sad*, Poe's *Where Half the World is Waking Up*, and Connor and Poe's *Life and Addresses of C. B. Aycock*, were sold in numbers ranging from 250 to 5,000, the latter being just one half of the number of copies of Wheeler's *History of North Carolina* sold in the early 1850's.

News-stands and cigar stands sell thousands of magazines such as *The Red Book*, *The Cosmopolitan*, and *The American Magazine*. *The Independent*, *The World's Work*, *Scribner's*, *The Outlook*, *The Atlantic Monthly*, and other magazines of a more serious type are rarely offered for sale at all. But even with the assistance of the news-stands, the total sales and subscriptions of *The Red Book*, for example, is one copy to 408 inhabitants, while the average for the United States is one copy to 147, and on the same basis the total sales in North Carolina showed that the State average for a dozen magazines of the most popular character was less than half of the average of the country at large.

BOOKS FOR NEGROES

Little comment has ever been made upon the use of books in the State by negroes. Until Professor W. C. Jackson, of the North Carolina College for Women, recently began an investigation of this subject, little data was available. From 35 answers to a questionnaire sent to the public libraries of the State, and from statistics published in *The Library Bulletin* for June, he discovered that the 750,000 or more negroes in North Carolina have a total of only five public libraries and 24 county training school and college libraries. Information from the State Department of Education and from a number of county superintendents also indicates the presence of an occasional \$30 library in the rural schools for negroes. In the absence of anything approximating complete information, it appears, therefore, that the public library book resources of this one-third of North Carolina's population are approximately 15,000 volumes, and that the private book resources of some 12 colleges and 12 county training schools for negroes are approximately 30,000 volumes—a fact which inevitably must have a profound influence upon the State's ability to attain its fullest development.

MUCH PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE

So much for the negative side of the picture. There is a positive side, and it is distinctly interesting. While there were no tax-supported, free public libraries when Mr. Page made his address, there are 67 today, with a total of over 200,000 volumes. There were no school libraries in 1897. Today 500,000 volumes are in the keeping of rural schools and a beginning has been made in the careful upbuilding of high school libraries. In 1901 the circulation of all newspapers in North Carolina totaled 612,230. In 1922, it totaled 1,420,952, an increase of 131 per cent. In 1902 the Federation of Women's Clubs was organized, with a library extension department; in 1904 the North Carolina Library Association began operation, and in 1909 the State established the Library Commission to operate traveling and package libraries, and to promote every form of library activity. 1912 saw the organization of the High School Debating Union which has involved from 10,000 to 20,000 high school boys and girls in the careful use of library materials, and today over 440,000 volumes are available for the use of the students enrolled in North Carolina colleges. In three instances a limited type of county-wide library service has been provided, and a method has been demonstrated by which adequate library service can be provided for the entire citizenship of North Carolina.

WHAT ARE THE CAUSES?

At the beginning of this paper it was made clear that the purpose of the study was not merely to get at the facts, but rather to discover the causes which produced the situation and effective means for changing it for the better.

Of the causes, quite a few have been presented in the rather general discussion which has recently been carried on in the State press. Miss Elizabeth Kelly, whose work has been that of eradicating adult illiteracy, attributes a part of the lack of interest in books to inability to read. Miss Mary DeVane thinks that North Carolinians, until recently, have not had sufficient leisure from the task of making a living to devote to reading. Mr. R. B. House contends that North Carolinians are too good talkers to read. Miss Nell Battle Lewis finds the lack of an aristocracy to be the chief contributing cause. And still another says that no one can ever become a real lover and therefore reader of books who did not become one through reading as a child.

To these causes, all of which have undoubtedly contributed to the production of the situation, I wish to add four others: (1) North

Carolina is a sparsely settled agricultural State, whose life until recently has been simple rather than complex; (2) books have been thought of largely in the terms of culture and not as tools or means of promoting individual welfare; (3) publicity concerning books and libraries has been extremely limited; and (4) those whose duty it has been to teach others the use of books have not been trained in their use themselves.

Until the boll weevil complicated the growing of cotton, that agricultural activity in North Carolina was considered, to speak in the vernacular, "fool-proof." But with the advent of the pest, the illiterate negro and the mule are having to give place to the man who can read a farmer's bulletin and follow instructions for the application of the poisons to insure the weevil's destruction. The boll weevil and the San Jose scale, to mention two enemies of the cotton grower and orchardist, have forced book-farming on at least two groups of North Carolina farmers. And complexity of any sort whatever will inevitably furnish a stimulus for investigation and the use of books where stimulus has been wanting heretofore.

From time immemorial the public has recognized the necessity of the lawyer, the doctor, and the teachers possessing books. But by and large North Carolina has not thought of books as essential to the task of winning a living in other fields. When thought of at all, they have been thought of in the terms of "the higher culture," rather than as the tools of the banker, the merchant, the cotton manufacturer, the engineer, the architect, the city manager, the health officer. Again it is only within the past few years in North Carolina that groups of students of the University and other institutions have discovered that books and trade magazines in the fields of accounting, salesmanship, and business administration can have a definitely practical value in fitting them for their careers in the business world, as well as aiding them in winning a degree, and, perhaps, stirring them with a great inspiration. Likewise, a profound change has been effected in the reading of women's clubs. Once this centered largely around literature and the fine arts. Today the emphasis is shifting. Literature and the arts have not been abandoned, but home economics, public welfare, public health, citizenship, home and town beautification, and the more practical affairs of modern life have come in for far more consideration than ever before.

Simplicity of conditions previously obtaining in North Carolina and the placing of a wrong emphasis on the purpose of books, I believe, have contributed materially to the production of the situation I have described. But the two greatest causes have been the failure of librarians and teachers and editors to sell the book idea and teach the use of books. From 1909 to 1912, *The News and Observer*, through *The North Caro-*

lina Review, greatly stimulated interest in books and literature. *The Library Bulletin* began publication at the same time. But from 1912 to 1921, a separate book page, devoted exclusively to the consideration of new books, was not carried as a regular distinctive feature of any North Carolina daily. Fortunately, this situation was changed by the *Greensboro News* in 1921, and now a half-dozen pages of matter concerning books of the day are appearing every Sunday in the leading papers of the State, with the result that book sales have steadily multiplied.

But the greatest cause contributing to this end has been the failure of those who have been in charge of libraries and books to instruct the public, particularly the school public, in the use of books. Although the State has placed over 500,000 volumes in rural school libraries, the teachers who have had charge of the collections have been given practically no instruction in how to make them of use to their pupils. The reading habit is a habit that is acquired in childhood. It has to be developed. And if the teacher does not know how to interest children in books, the habit will not be acquired. Where teachers have known how to use books themselves, their pupils have learned to use them and love them. But until very recently such teachers have been exceedingly rare, and even now but little emphasis is being placed by the schools on the part books should play in the lives of their pupils and patrons. Stress is placed on the mechanics of reading, but not upon its real purpose in the life of the pupil.

WHAT ARE THE REMEDIES?

In attempting to prescribe remedies for the improvement of this situation, I am conscious that the advance must necessarily be slow, and that no one measure will bring about instantly the desired transformation. The processes now at work which have resulted in the progress evidenced in the past twenty-five years must be continued. However, I have three major suggestions to make: (1) that in the future public and school libraries stress the practical as well as the cultural value of books; (2) that the State Department of Education, in co-operation with the schools and colleges, provide adequate training on the part of teachers in the use of books; and (3) that the State commit itself unreservedly to a program of county-wide, tax-supported, free libraries which, with adequate financial support, can insure proper administration and ample book resources for the entire citizenship.

I do not wish to preach a materialistic doctrine concerning books in this day when, apparently, we are already too materialistic. On the

contrary, I should like to place even greater emphasis upon the inspirational contribution books may make to men. But I do want the emphasis to be placed at that point, be it what it may, that will gain the attention of the total adult citizenship; for books should appeal as much to members of Rotary and Kiwanis and Civitan clubs as to members of the Federation of Women's Clubs. And in neither case should the reading of books be a fad, but a means to the living of a broader, better life.

The State Department of Education, the Library Commission, and the colleges can, I am sure, greatly improve the school library situation. Hereafter, in the county and college summer schools, teachers who are to have charge of schools containing libraries should be required to study such library methods as will insure the proper use of the books by the pupils. For the grammar grades this instruction might be comparatively simple, but it should by no means be totally neglected. And for the high schools, which are just now being required to provide libraries, a definite fund should be set aside in the school budget for their maintenance according to approved standards, and some teacher should be trained extensively in library management. In this respect North Carolina should follow the lead of Wisconsin, which, in 1919-20, required every high school in that State to employ a library-trained teacher to have charge of the high school library. No high school pupil, whether he intends to go to college or not, should be permitted to attend high school without acquiring some knowledge of the specific character of information which encyclopedias and dictionaries and atlases and compendiums of various sorts contain. And to be sure that he does know this, special books should be carefully studied and questions based upon them should be answered with volume and page references, just as a lawyer cites his references in making out his brief. With this done, biography, and fiction, and poetry, and drama, and history, and science, and the arts can be supplied in adequate measure, and a State inspector of high school libraries can be put in the field who can see that proper library standards and practices prevail.

No single North Carolina county has, to date, established a county-wide, tax-supported, free library. Guilford, Forsyth, and Durham have adopted the idea in part, and illustrate in a limited way what the functions of such a library are. But if North Carolina is to have adequate library service which will reach rural and urban dwellers alike, which will provide for both country and city schools, and will insure competent, effective library administration, the county-wide library must

be made the type through which this service shall come. In our sparsely settled country areas we should follow, and follow instantly, the example of California, in which 38 county libraries, in 1918, received an annual maintenance fund of \$539,458, contained 945,856 volumes, maintained 2,890 branch libraries, and served 1,549 school districts, every librarian being certificated, and serving under expert library supervision.

This program, of course, will not usher in the millennium. That is too much to expect of it. But if it is adopted and carried out, it will be in key with our splendid progress in agriculture, and industry, and road building, and education. And it will contribute equally with them in the building up of a finer North Carolina civilization.

North Carolina Bibliography, 1921-1922

By MARY B. PALMER

Secretary North Carolina Library Commission

This Bibliography covers the period from November 1, 1921, to November 30, 1922. The term is here used to include the works of all native North Carolinians, regardless of present residence, and the works of writers who, although not born in North Carolina, have lived here long enough to become identified with the State. Pamphlets, continuations, and periodical articles are not included.

(Abbreviations and Symbols: il, illustrated; p., pages; ed., editor; comp., compiler.)

ADAMS, RANDOLPH GREENFIELD. Political ideas of the American revolution: Britannic-American contributions to the problem of imperial organization, 1765-1775. 207p. il. Trinity College Press, Durham, 1922.

BOND, PAUL STANLEY AND SHERRILL, CLARENCE OSBORNE. America in the world war: a summary of the achievements of the great republic in the conflict with Germany: a romance in figures compiled from many official and unofficial sources. 177p. Banta, 1921. \$1.50.

BROWN, RICHARD L. History of the Michael Brown family of Rowan county. 190p. The author, Salisbury, N. C., 1921. \$2.00.

CHAMBERLAIN, HOPE SUMMERELL (MRS. J. R. CHAMBERLAIN). History of Wake county, North Carolina; with illus. by the author. 302p. Mrs. William Johnston Andrews, Raleigh, N. C., 1922. \$5.25.

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FRIES, ADELAIDE L., ed. Records of the Moravians in North Carolina. v. 1, il. North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh, N. C.

HAMILTON, JOSEPH GREGOIRE DE ROULHAC and KNIGHT, E. W. Making of citizens (National social science series). 146p. McClurg, 1922. \$1.00.

- HAMILTON, JOSEPH GREGOIRE DE ROULHAC, ed. Selections from the writings of Abraham Lincoln; ed. for school use. (The Lake English classics.) 424p. Scott, 1922. \$1.00.
- HARPER, WILLIAM ALLEN. Church in the present crisis; introd. by Peter Ainslie. 272p. Revell, 1921. \$1.75.
- HOSKINS, JOSEPH A., comp. President Washington's diaries, 1791 to 1799. 100p. J. A. Hoskins, Summerfield, N. C., 1922. \$2.00.
- JACKSON, WALTER CLINTON. A boy's life of Booker T. Washington. 147p. il. Macmillan, 1922. 88c.
- KNIGHT, EDGAR WALLACE. Public education in the South. 482p. Ginn, 1922. \$2.00.
- KOCH, FREDERICK HENRY. Carolina folk-plays. 160p. il. Holt, 1922. \$1.75.
- LANIER, JOHN J. Washington the great American. Mason, Macoy Pub. Co., 45-59 John Street, New York, 1922. \$1.50.
- LICHTENSTEIN, GASTON. From Richmond to North Cape. 160p. il, 1922. William Byrd Press, Richmond, 1922. \$2.00.
- NEWSOM, DALLAS WALTON. Song and dream (poems). 174p. Stratford, 1922. \$2.50.
- POGUE, JOSEPH E. The economics of petroleum. 375p. Wiley, 1921.
- POLLOCK, JOHN ALFRED (RONLEIGH DE CONVAL, pseud). Fair lady of Halifax, or Colmey's six hundred. 403p. The author, 411 N. Queen St., Kinston, N. C., 1920. \$2.00.
- PORTER, SAMUEL JUDSON. Gospel of beauty, with a foreword by L. R. Scarborough. 13-118p. Doran, 1922. \$1.25.
- POTEAT, EDWIN MCNEILL. Withered fig tree; studies in stewardship. 74p. bds. Am. Bapt., 1921. \$1.00.
- POTEAT, GORDON. Greatheart of the South, John Todd Anderson, medical missionary. 123p. il. Doran, 1921. \$1.50.
- POTEAT, HUBERT MCNEILL. Practical hymnology. 7-130p. il. Badger, R. G., 1921. \$2.00.
- SMITH, CHARLES ALPHONSO, ed. Selected stories of O. Henry. 255p. il. Doubleday, 1922. \$1.25.

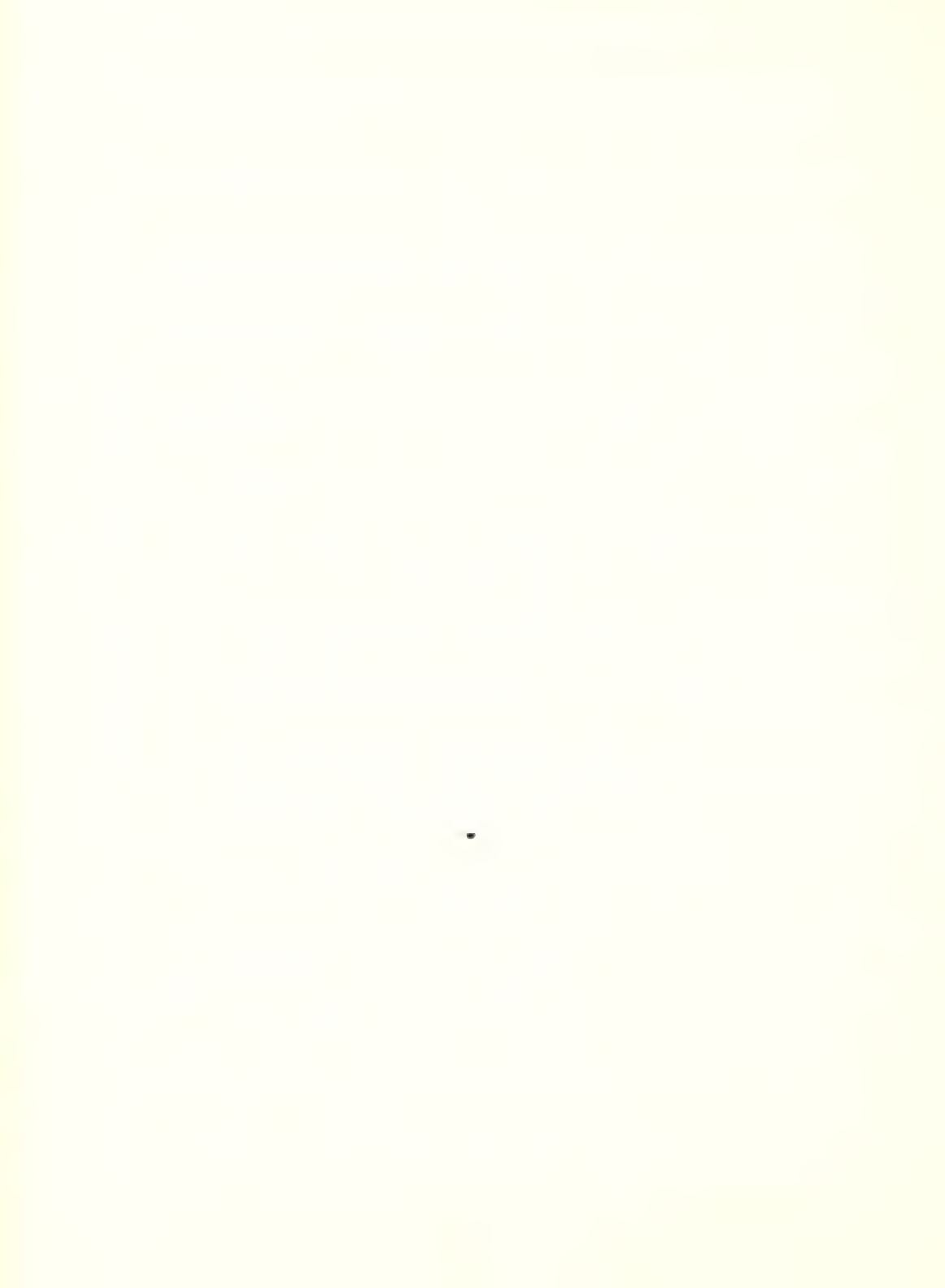
SMITH, WILLIAM ALEXANDER. Family Tree Book. 304p. il.; priv. ptd., 1922. Mrs. Bettie Smith Hughes, 102 N. Gramercy Place, Los Angeles, Cal. \$10.00.

SPENCE, HERSEY EVERETT. A guide to the study of the English Bible. 178p. Trinity College Press, Durham, 1922.

VAN LANDINGHAM, MARY OATES (SPRATT), (MRS. JOHN VAN LANDINGHAM). Glowing embers. 307p.; priv. ptd. The author, 500 East Ave., Charlotte, N. C., 1922.

WEAVER, JOHN VAN ALSTYNE, JR. In America. 80p. bds. Knopf, 1921. \$1.50.

WEAVER, JOHN VAN ALSTYNE, JR. Margey wins the game. 9-110p. bds. Knopf, 1922. \$1.50.



The Cult of the Second Best

By WALTER LIPPMANN

Author "Public Opinion," member editorial staff New York World

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Not so long ago Mr. Bernard Shaw wrote a play, or rather a whole series of plays, in which he said that there was no hope for mankind unless men learned to live at least three hundred years. He argued that civilization had become so complicated, and citizenship required so much more knowledge than people had time to acquire in one lifetime, that the only way out was to live three or four times as long. Only then, only if we all went back to Methuselah, would we have time to grow wise, and would we have an interest in really settling our problems. Today, said Mr. Shaw, we do not live long enough to become better than college freshmen and flappers in politics, and our attitude towards civilization is like that of an untidy tenant with a short lease who has no interest in the upkeep or improvement of the property.

Mr. Shaw's advice that we should live as long as Methuselah is rather difficult advice to follow. But of course Mr. Shaw wasn't expecting us to take his advice. In fact, I fancy that if Mr. Lloyd George showed signs of living three hundred years, Mr. Shaw would promptly go out of his mind. What Mr. Shaw was doing was performing an old trick of his. The trick consists in getting hold of a perfectly solid truth, and then exploding that truth upon the public in the most outrageous and startling way he can imagine.

Now the solid truth which Mr. Shaw had in the back of his mind was the conviction that men had in them the capacity to live splendidly if only they were not afraid to do so. His conviction is, I think, a very common one today. Wherever you go you run into the feeling that public life is kept second rate by great quantities of hokum and buncomb, by insincerities, by play to the galleries, by demagoguery, by propaganda, by lack of moral courage. To put it briefly, there is a widespread feeling in the land that the first-rate men don't come to the top, or if they come that they are somehow compelled to conform to mediocre standards. This is an old charge against democracy. But in the past it has always been made by the aristocrats. Today it is perhaps the main topic of discussion among thinking people, and the charge of mediocrity in politics is made by democrats themselves.

With your permission I shall tonight touch briefly on some aspects of this feeling that there is in public life a Cult of the Second Best.

Let me begin by specifying a little more exactly what I mean by the Cult of the Second Best. Some months ago at a friend's house I met a very prominent member of the present administration. There is no need to mention his name, because I am not here to charge any one with anything but to illustrate a point which is a common experience in the daily life of almost every newspaper man. This prominent official talked to us at length that day on two questions which deeply concern the country. He talked about the coal strike which was then in progress and about the very bad economic organization of the bituminous coal industry in particular. We asked him what was the remedy, and he then outlined in great detail a plan which was radical enough to make us all sit up straight. He said that no plan less radical than this one would cure the trouble, and that if the plan was not adopted the coal industry would drift from bad to worse.

Now it is of no importance to us tonight whether the plan was a good one or a bad one. All I ask you to remember is that this very eminent politician believed whole-heartedly in it. I asked him when he expected to make the plan public, and he replied that he wasn't going to make it public because the voters would not understand it and the thing would cause an awful hullabaloo. So the public has never yet found out, and does not yet know, what one of its highest and most respected officials thinks about the coal problem.

We then got on to the subject of the debts owed by European governments to the United States. Our distinguished guest told us, as if it were the most obvious thing in the world, that of course a large part of these debts were uncollectible. We asked him whether it was not important that this should be explained to the American people, and he answered that Congress would probably eat him alive if he blurted out such an unpleasant fact.

Now here were two instances where a man of great ability in high place was thinking one thing privately and saying another thing publicly. Does not this strike you as somehow a dangerous and corrupting thing in a government supposed to be founded on free and frank discussion of public affairs? It strikes me as very corrupting intellectually to the public official who starts by being afraid to say what he thinks and often ends by thinking what he says. It strikes me as unfair to the people at large that they should have to vote and form their opinions without being allowed to hear the sincerest thoughts of those who are on the inside and have the best opportunity to form true judgments.

These two instances are not in the least exceptional in my experience. I was at Paris through some part of the Peace Conference, and

nothing seemed to me so utterly depressing as the contrast between what the men on the inside said in private and what they felt compelled to do and say in public. The Treaty of Versailles has been much criticized throughout the world since it was published, but it was just as severely criticized by the insiders at Paris before it was published. Nevertheless, there were things put into the treaty which every expert knew were unworkable and dangerous to the peace of Europe, because outside the conference people were howling for those things. Our own delegates at Paris were forced to accept provisions in that treaty which they knew to be bad, because every jingo in the Paris press, every jingo in Senator Lodge's party, every Tory in England was demanding them. The story is now public property. You have only to read Ray Stannard Baker's story based on President Wilson's documents to see how much wiser our delegation was in private than it was able to be in public.

About a year ago in London I was talking to an Englishman who had been a member of the British delegation about this very thing, and he told me a story out of his own experience which I feel at liberty to repeat. The story is approximately this: The conference had reached a deadlock over the size of the indemnity to be imposed on Germany. There were two proposals, an American and a British. The American proposal called for a sum of about fifteen billions. This was both just and within the capacity of Germany to pay. It was a sum which every expert knew was possible, and therefore, if adopted, it meant that the financial recovery of Europe could begin. This plan was known among the British at Paris as the Heavenly Peace.

The other plan called for the payment of the impossible gigantic sum which Mr. Lloyd George had promised to secure in the frantic khaki election of 1918. This plan was known as the Hellish Peace, because if it was adopted everybody foresaw the very thing which is now happening in Europe. They foresaw that it meant a frantic and futile effort to achieve the impossible, accompanied by disorder and suffering.

Mr. Lloyd George was undecided. He knew that the Heavenly Peace was best for the world in the long run, but very bad politics in England at that moment. He knew that the Hellish Peace was good politics at the moment, but very bad for the world in the long run. So he took his advisers off to the country with him for the week-end, and for two days they debated whether to make a Heavenly Peace or a Hellish Peace. The Heavenly Party won the debate and they returned to Paris feeling immensely noble.

But one of the members of the other party wired the news of the decision to England. Immediately the Tories set to work. One hundred and forty members of the House of Commons, whom somebody

described as men who had done extremely well for themselves in the war, signed a resolution threatening Mr. Lloyd George with political death if he yielded to the Americans. The Northcliffe press let loose all its thunder. This was more than Mr. Lloyd George could stand. So he switched over and demanded the Hellish Peace.

These are sufficient illustrations of what is meant by the Cult of the Second Best. And I shall therefore ask you to consider next what such a condition means in popular government. It means in the first place that the people do not learn from the insiders what the insiders think is most true or most wise, but what the insiders think the majority of voters will on the spur of the moment most like to hear. It means that public opinion, instead of being educated constantly by real discussion, is forced to chew dry straw. It means that public opinion suffers one disappointment after another until you reach the state of mind now prevalent throughout the world.

It is a state of mind which says that politics is a choice between tweedledum and tweedledee, that politics is a game for politicians. And this feeling has very dangerous consequences. It drives some of the people to despair of politics, and from despair to a belief in violence and direct action. It drives other people just out of politics altogether with a feeling that voting is hardly worth while and that public life is no place for them.

There is no mechanical remedy for all this. You can't pass a law about it. The only thing you can do is by merciless criticism and by courageous example to make the cult of the second best extremely unfashionable.

Now I have argued this question a good deal with politicians, and in the end the argument has always come down to one point, which is the substance of what I have to say tonight.

The politician in defending himself usually ends by saying that it is his business to serve the people by doing what they want him to do. And if he is a shrewd politician he has usually turned upon me and said: "You are a newspaper man, aren't you? Well, why don't the newspapers take such splendid care not to step too much on their readers' toes?"

And when I have thought of it in that way I felt a little more charitable about the politician's weaknesses. So what I've got to say applies to pretty nearly everybody, including perhaps college professors, to anybody whose job depends upon votes, public favor, circulation or audiences.

All of us are suffering from a confusion of mind which is, it seems to me, the foundation of our Cult of the Second Best. We have two

jobs to do. We have to serve the interests of the public. That is one thing, and the most important. At the same time we have to make what we say or do interesting to the public.

Now there is a very great difference between the interests of the public and what the public finds interesting. A very great difference. Take yourselves as an example. You have an enormous interest in the proper settlement of the reparation problem. Have you read as much about reparations in the last two months as you have read about the Kaiser's wedding and the stranded harem of the Sultan? You have a profound interest in the Lausanne Conference, but I am willing to wager fewer of you can describe the issues than could describe Princess Mary's wedding gown some months ago. I am confident that more of you read about Charlie Chaplin's reported engagement to Pola Negri, and that you thought about it more, than you have thought about whether Mr. Pierce Butler is a good appointment to the Supreme Court. The Stillman case was discussed a thousand times more than the tariff, and I could draw a bigger crowd in New York—Raleigh no doubt is different—tomorrow night if I promised to speak about the political views of Mary Pickford than I could if I offered to discuss Mr. Harding's proposal for a ship subsidy.

So there you are. That's what all men who depend upon public opinion are up against, whether they hold office or run newspapers. The interests of the public and what the public finds interesting do not coincide. And in my judgment a good sixty or seventy per cent of the insincerity, the buncomb and the hokum of public life is not due to fear of being punished, but to fear of being dull. We are much less afraid that you will lynch us than we are that you will yawn and go to sleep.

Now my theory is that you are tending to yawn and go to sleep anyway, that you don't take the politicians very seriously and that perhaps you don't take what we write in the newspapers so very seriously either. That being the case, it seems to me that if everybody started to speak his whole mind on public questions the shock and novelty of it might almost make it interesting. At any rate, without taking ourselves too heavily, there is such a thing as a public duty, and in a democracy the highest intellectual duty is to make your public utterance conform to your best private opinion. At the risk of boring the public, at the risk of frightening the public, this is the only possible rule. For democracy can never work its way through the problems that confront it if the best informed opinion isn't courageously thrown into the discussion.

It is necessary, therefore, at every turn to combat the notion that the public should be given what the public wants. That is an utterly cor-

rupting rule for politicians, newspapers, professors or parsons. The only rule for each of us is to give the public what he thinks the public ought to have, and then neither whine nor complain if the public rejects him and goes elsewhere. There is nothing to be gained and everything to be lost by trying to serve the public by giving them what they are supposed to want. We shall serve the public best in the long run by giving them what we believe, while admitting in all humility that we may be talking nonsense. And when anybody comes to us, be he a political boss, or any other kind of boss, and tells us to give the public what they want, our reply ought to be, if we don't believe in that thing: If the public wants that, let them go find somebody who will give it to them.

Unless we take that attitude the Cult of the Second Best will flourish among us like a green bay tree. Perhaps you will agree. But even if you do, you may be asking yourselves what the practical consequences would be to men who took such a stand. How would they earn their living? That is a fair question, for the consequences of what I've been preaching tonight would frequently mean that men would resign from very pleasant jobs.

Now I believe this, and I hope you will bear with me while I say it. I believe that no man is really fit to hold a public office, or any other job which depends upon public favor or has to do with teaching in any form, if that man isn't also capable of earning a living in some other way if necessary. That may sound a little strange at first, but I believe that there can be no real freedom or sincerity in any public service unless men in it are perfectly ready to resign or be fired at any time for their opinions.

You know that one of the first ideals of this Republic was that a man should leave his plough in the furrow to do a public service, and that he should then return to his plough when the service was done. There was profound wisdom in that ideal, for it meant that the public servant had no fears for his private comfort. He was not dependent upon the public, and therefore he could serve it as a free man.

This ideal we ought to resurrect. We ought to expect our politicians to have some other career to fall back upon besides politics, we ought to expect the whole intellectual class, teachers, writers, and the like, to learn trades so that they can afford to resign at any time and are, therefore, in the most practical sense of the word free men. I promise the professors, if there are any present, that their incomes would not be reduced much if, having been properly educated to the work, they suddenly had to turn bricklayer or steamfitter. I can assure them that as a writer I have felt ever so much happier and freer since I realized

that if the worst came to the worst I could probably qualify as a taxicab driver in New York City.

At any rate, the way to destroy the Cult of the Second Best seems to me this: Give the public not what you think it wants, but what you think it needs. Take your chances on being dull and prepare yourself to resign at any moment by learning some other useful occupation that is not dependent upon public favor. Then you will be a free man, and as a free man you can remind the public with perfect safety to search its own heart a bit, asking whether the ease with which it is frightened is not in some measure responsible also for the second-rateness of public life.

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 T. T. Hicks, Henderson.
 Miss Mattie Higgs, Raleigh.
 Mrs. J. V. Higham, Raleigh.
 D. H. Hill, Raleigh.
 John Sprunt Hill, Durham.
 Miss Pauline Hill, Raleigh.
 Mrs. W. T. Hines, Kinston.
 Mrs. J. W. Hinsdale, Raleigh.
 Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton, Raleigh.
 Herman Harrell Horne, Leonia, N. J.
 J. A. Hoskins, Summertield.
 George Howe, Chapel Hill.
 E. Vernon Howell, Chapel Hill.
 Miss Irma Hubbard, Memphis, Tenn.
 D. E. Hudgins, Marion.
 Rev. A. B. Hunter, Raleigh.
 Cary J. Hunter, Raleigh.

- Mrs. Cary J. Hunter, Raleigh.
J. Rufus Hunter, Raleigh.
Miss Louise Irby, Greensboro.
Mrs. C. L. Ives, New Bern.
Miss Carrie Jackson, Pittsboro.
Mrs. Herbert Jackson, Richmond, Va.
W. C. Jackson, Greensboro.
Murray James, Raleigh.
B. S. Jerman, Raleigh.
A. F. Johnson, Louisburg.
Charles E. Johnson, Jr., Raleigh.
Rev. Livingston Johnson, Raleigh.
Mrs. Edward J. Johnston, Winston-Salem.
Miss Nellie Mae Johnston, Raleigh.
W. N. Jones, Raleigh.
J. Y. Joyner, Raleigh.
Miss Elizabeth A. Kelley, Superior, Mont.
Woodus Kellum, Wilmington.
Paul S. Kennett, Elon College.
Horace Kephart, Bryson City.
B. W. Kilgore, Raleigh.
R. R. King, Greensboro.
E. W. Knight, Chapel Hill.
F. H. Koch, Chapel Hill.
W. T. Laprade, Durham.
William Latimer, Wilmington.
Samuel Lawrence, Raleigh.
Mrs. Samuel Lawrence, Raleigh.
J. B. Lewis, Raleigh.
Miss Nell Battle Lewis, Raleigh.
Dr. R. H. Lewis, Raleigh.
Miss Vinton Liddell, Asheville.
Thomas W. Lingle, Davidson.
Henry E. Litchford, Richmond, Va.
Mrs. H. A. London, Pittsboro.
H. M. London, Raleigh.
Mrs. H. M. London, Raleigh.
J. M. McConnell, Davidson.
J. G. McCormick, Wilmington.
Mrs. Mamie G. McCubbins, Salisbury.
Mrs. Herbert McCullers, Clayton.
F. B. McDowell, Charlotte.
A. C. McIntosh, Chapel Hill.
R. L. McMillan, Raleigh.
Mrs. R. L. McMillan, Raleigh.
Franklin McNeill, Raleigh.
Mrs. Franklin McNeill, Raleigh.
Clement Manly, Winston-Salem.
W. F. Marshall, Raleigh.
Julius C. Martin, Asheville.
H. D. Meyer, Chapel Hill.
Mrs. J. W. Miller, New York City.
W. R. Mills, Louisburg.
Mrs. J. J. Misenheimer, Charlotte.
Mrs. E. E. Moffitt, Richmond, Va.
A. H. Mohn, Louisburg.
Mrs. A. R. Moore, New Brunswick, N. J.
Mrs. James P. Moore, Salisbury.
Rev. W. W. Moore, Richmond, Va.
John M. Morehead, Charlotte.
Mrs. John M. Morehead, Charlotte.
Miss B. A. Morgan, Raleigh.
Mrs. F. O. Moring, Raleigh.
Mrs. T. S. Morrison, Asheville.
Hugh Morson, Raleigh.
Miss Lucile W. Murchison, New York City.
Walter Murphy, Salisbury.
Frank Nash, Raleigh.
Mrs. Frank Nash, Raleigh.
N. C. Newbold, Raleigh.
Mrs. A. P. Noell, Greensboro.
Eric Norden, Wilmington.
Mrs. M. T. Norris, Raleigh.
George Norwood, Goldsboro.
Jonas Ottinger, Wilson.
Hon. Lee S. Overman, Salisbury.
Miss Mary B. Palmer, Raleigh.
Haywood Parker, Asheville.
Mrs. C. M. Parks, Tarboro.
Miss Rosa Paschal, Greenville, S. C.
Mrs. S. T. Peace, Henderson.
D. W. Pearce, Petersburg, Va.
P. Pearsall, Wilmington.
C. C. Pearson, Wake Forest.
Mrs. W. J. Peele, Raleigh.
W. M. Person, Louisburg.
E. F. Pescud, Raleigh.
Miss Annie F. Petty, Raleigh.
William S. Pfohl, Winston-Salem.
H. N. Pharr, Charlotte.
Mrs. H. C. Pinnix, Oxford.
T. M. Pittman, Henderson.
Clarence Poe, Raleigh.
Mrs. Clarence Poe, Raleigh.
Miss Aline Polk, Guilford College.
Miss Eliza Pool, Raleigh.
Hubert M. Poteat, Wake Forest.

- Miss Ida Poteat, Raleigh.
 W. L. Poteat, Wake Forest.
 Mrs. W. L. Poteat, Wake Forest.
 Mrs. William H. Potter, Boston, Mass.
 E. K. Powe, Durham.
 Mrs. E. K. Powe, Durham.
 W. R. Powell, Wake Forest.
 Mrs. W. R. Powell, Wake Forest.
 Joseph Hyde Pratt, Chapel Hill.
 James H. Ramsey, Salisbury.
 Mrs. R. B. Raney, Raleigh.
 W. T. Reaves, Raleigh.
 Miss Mattie Reese, Raleigh.
 Mrs. W. N. Reynolds, Winston-Salem.
 W. C. Riddick, Raleigh.
 Paul H. Ringer, Asheville.
 J. F. Roache, Wilmington.
 Miss Adaline C. Robinson, Greensboro.
 Miss Lida T. Rodman, Washington.
 Dr. Howard E. Rondthaler, Winston-Salem.
 Mrs. Howard E. Rondthaler, Winston-Salem.
 Charles Root, Raleigh.
 George Rountree, Wilmington.
 H. A. Royster, Raleigh.
 W. I. Royster, Raleigh.
 William H. Ruffin, Louisburg.
 Robert L. Ryburn, Shelby.
 Miss Helen H. Salls, Oxford.
 W. M. Sanders, Smithfield.
 Dr. Edmund Schwarze, Winston-Salem.
 Miss C. L. Shaffner, Winston-Salem.
 Miss Cornelia Shaw, Davidson.
 Shaw University, Raleigh.
 Edwin F. Shewmake, Davidson.
 Mrs. M. B. Shipp, Raleigh.
 John A. Simpson, Raleigh.
 Col. Harry Skinner, Greenville.
 Benjamin F. Sledd, Wake Forest.
 Hon. J. H. Small, Washington.
 C. Alphonso Smith, Annapolis, Md.
 Charles Lee Smith, Raleigh.
 Ed. Chambers Smith, Raleigh.
 Mrs. Ed. Chambers Smith, Raleigh.
 Rev. G. F. Smith, Louisburg.
 Miss Mary Shannon Smith, New York City.
 Miss Mildred Houze Smith, Raleigh.
 W. C. Smith, Greensboro.
 Willis Smith, Raleigh.
 D. T. Smithwick, Louisburg.
 Mrs. D. T. Smithwick, Louisburg.
 Mrs. W. O. Spencer, Winston-Salem.
 E. S. Spruill, Rocky Mount.
 James Sprunt, Wilmington.
 W. H. Sprunt, Wilmington.
 W. P. Stacy, Raleigh.
 J. F. Stanback, Raleigh.
 Mrs. J. F. Stanback, Raleigh.
 Charles M. Stedman, Greensboro.
 George Stephens, Asheville.
 Mrs. F. L. Stevens, Urbana, Ill.
 C. L. Stevens, Southport.
 Mrs. C. L. Stevens, Southport.
 Charles S. Stone, Charlotte.
 W. E. Stone, Raleigh.
 Miss Kate Stronach, Raleigh.
 Edmund Strudwick, Richmond, Va.
 R. C. Strudwick, Greensboro.
 R. H. Sykes, Durham.
 Mrs. J. F. Taylor, Kinston.
 Walter D. Toy, Chapel Hill.
 E. J. Tucker, Roxboro.
 Miss Sarah C. Turner, Raleigh.
 Mrs. V. E. Turner, Raleigh.
 Miss Cornelia Vanderbilt, Biltmore.
 Mrs. John Van Landingham, Charlotte.
 Rev. R. T. Vann, Raleigh.
 Miss Eleanor Vass, Raleigh.
 W. W. Vass, Raleigh.
 Mrs. W. W. Vass, Raleigh.
 Wachovia Historical Society, Winston-Salem.
 Mrs. Amos J. Walker, New York City.
 Platt D. Walker, Raleigh.
 Mrs. J. A. Walker, Brownwood, Texas.
 N. W. Walker, Chapel Hill.
 Zebulon V. Walser, Lexington.
 D. L. Ward, New Bern.
 Rev. W. W. Way, Raleigh.
 Miss Aline Weathers, Raleigh.
 James L. Webb, Shelby.
 Mangum Weeks, Washington, D. C.
 Miss Gertrude Weil, Goldsboro.
 Mrs. W. S. West, Raleigh.
 Charles Whedbee, Hertford.
 Miss Julia S. White, Guilford College.
 Mrs. E. L. Whitehead, Raleigh.
 W. T. Whitsett, Whitsett.

J. Frank Wilkes, Charlotte.
M. S. Willard, Wilmington.
F. L. Willcox, Florence, S. C.
Mrs. Marshall Williams, Faison.
William H. Williamson, Raleigh.
J. Norman Wills, Greensboro.
E. E. Wilson, Wake Forest.
H. V. Wilson, Chapel Hill.
Louis R. Wilson, Chapel Hill.
J. W. Winborne, Marion.
Mrs. J. M. Winfree, Raleigh.
Francis D. Winston, Windsor.

George T. Winston, Asheville.
R. W. Winston, Washington, D. C.
J. H. Wissler, Moncure.
W. A. Withers, Raleigh.
Frank Wood, Edenton.
J. G. Wood, Edenton.
W. F. Woodard, Wilson.
Mrs. W. F. Woodard, Wilson.
E. E. Wright, New Orleans, La.
Miss Mary S. Yates, Raleigh.
Harrison Yelverton, Goldsboro.
J. R. Young, Raleigh.

185.028
PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION
BULLETIN No. 31

TENTH BIENNIAL REPORT

OF THE

NORTH CAROLINA
HISTORICAL COMMISSION

1922-1924

A PEOPLE WHO HAVE NOT THE PRIDE TO
RECORD THEIR HISTORY WILL NOT LONG
HAVE THE VIRTUE TO MAKE HISTORY THAT
IS WORTH RECORDING.

TENTH BIENNIAL REPORT

OF THE

North Carolina Historical Commission

December 1, 1922, to
November 30, 1924

RALEIGH
EDWARDS & BROUGHTON PRINTING COMPANY
STATE PRINTERS
1925

NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION

THOMAS M. PITTMAN, *Chairman*, Henderson

M. C. S. NOBLE, Chapel Hill

FRANK WOOD, Edenton

HERIOT CLARKSON, Charlotte

W. N. EVERETT, Raleigh

R. B. HOUSE, *Secretary*, Raleigh

LETTER OF TRANSMISSION

To His Excellency,

CAMERON MORRISON,

Governor of North Carolina.

SIR:—I have the honor to submit herewith for your Excellency's consideration the Biennial Report of the North Carolina Historical Commission, for December 1, 1922-November 30, 1924.

Respectfully,

THOMAS M. PITTMAN,
Chairman.

RALEIGH, N. C., January, 1925.

BIENNIAL REPORT
OF THE
Secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission
DECEMBER 1, 1922, TO NOVEMBER 30, 1924

To THOMAS M. PITTMAN, *Chairman*, M. C. S. NOBLE, FRANK WOOD,
HERIOT CLARKSON, AND W. N. EVERETT, *Commissioners*.

GENTLEMEN:—I have the honor to submit, the following report of the work of the North Carolina Historical Commission for the period December 1, 1922-November 30, 1924.

ORGANIZATION

During the period covered by this report there have been changes in both the Historical Commission and in the staff employed by it.

J. Bryan Grimes, Chairman of the Historical Commission, died January 11, 1923. To succeed him as commissioner, W. N. Everett was appointed by the Governor.

At a meeting of the Historical Commission, held April 17, 1924, Thomas M. Pittman was elected Chairman, W. N. Everett, Vice-chairman, and an executive committee elected, composed of Thomas M. Pittman, W. N. Everett, and M. C. S. Noble. All these appointments and elections have continued to the date of this report.

Daniel Harvey Hill, Secretary of the Historical Commission since 1921, died July 31, 1924. At a meeting of the Historical Commission held October 17, 1924, R. B. House was elected to the office of Secretary. At this same meeting D. L. Corbitt was elected to the permanent staff of the Historical Commission as Calendar Clerk.

By your direction I publish as an appendix to this report accounts of the life and services of J. Bryan Gimes and Daniel Harvey Hill.

OFFICE FORCE

During the period covered by this report the following have composed the permanent staff of the office:

Secretary, D. H. Hill (to July 31, 1924); R. B. House (October 17, 1924 —).

Legislative Reference Librarian, H. M. London.

Archivist, R. B. House (to October 17, 1924).

Collector for Hall of History, Fred A. Olds.

Restorer of Manuscripts, Mrs. I. M. Winfree.

Stenographer, Miss Marjory Terrell (through March 31, 1924);

Miss Sophie D. Busbee (April 1, 1924 —).

Calendar Clerk, D. L. Corbitt (since April 1, 1924).

Archival Clerk, Mrs. W. S. West.

Reference Clerk, Mrs. W. J. Peele.

Copyist, Miss Sophie D. Busbee (through March 31, 1924); Mrs. Marie Baumgardner (April 1, 1924 —).

Messenger and Mailing Clerk, William Birdsall.

The following were employed for temporary special service:

Assistant Legislative Reference Librarian, R. L. McMillan (January and February, 1923; August, 1924).

Compiler of Revolutionary Roster, Moses Amis (through February 29, 1924).

DIVISION OF DOCUMENTS

CLASSIFICATION AND ARRANGEMENT OF PAPERS

The most immediate and practical work of this division is the rough classification of all papers received, the careful chronological arrangement of these papers in permanent form as time permits, and the administration of our whole collections for the daily use of students. Our collections, totaling over five hundred thousand pieces, have been thus kept available.

In addition to this work, which cannot be set forth in statistics, the following specific work has been done:

STATE ADMINISTRATION RECORDS

Two hundred and eighty-one papers were filed in the papers of the Secretary of State. Three hundred and seventeen papers were filed in the papers of the State Treasurer. Legislative Papers for the years 1790-1792 were chronologically arranged. Six volumes were arranged in the papers of the Attorney-General. Journals of the Literary Board 1826-1867, and Letterbooks of the Superintendent of Public Instruction 1868-1906, were arranged.

COUNTY RECORDS

Of wills, 2137 were alphabetically arranged in the papers of Chowan, Wayne, Tyrrell, Jones, and Rowan Counties. Material from 35 counties, totaling 203 volumes, cases and bundles, was properly arranged. This material is listed in detail under "Accessions" below.

The whole collection of county records, totaling 1177 cases and volumes, was carefully labeled, numbered serially, and indexed by a card finding-list.

RECORDS OF PUBLIC SCHOOL EDUCATION

The whole collection of papers was searched for documents on education by M. C. S. Noble in preparation of a documentary history of Public School Education, and material found was copied and verified.

OLD NEWSPAPERS

Approximately 300 photostat copies of North Carolina newspapers prior to 1800 were arranged.

HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS

920 separate items were arranged in the papers of W. A. Graham, Minis Ward, Z. B. Vance, John L. Bridgers, Nathaniel Macon, B. F. Gatling, Robert Bingham, Kenneth Rayner, Kiffin Rockwell, Walter Clark, John Branch, Hogg, James Iredell, Andrew Jackson, W. W. Holden, A. D. Murphey, R. W. Winston, and Philemon Hawkins.

USE OF RECORDS

With the growth of our collections there has been naturally a growing use of the records by students. Thousands of letters are handled in the office, either directly where time and other work permit, or by reference to researchers working professionally in their own right. Two hundred people have formally registered in the office and used the records made available. Of these 48 were either graduate students working on monographs in North Carolina history or investigators who published the results of their study here.

REPAIR OF MANUSCRIPTS

Of manuscript, 13,582 sheets have been repaired in various ways as follows:

- 7782 mounted for binding.
- 5183 repaired with paper.
- 617 repaired with crepeline.

In addition to this work numerous books, maps, land grants, and other papers have been repaired for immediate use.

BINDING

Thirty-four volumes were bound as follows:

- Governors' papers, State Series, 1814-1835, Vols. XLII-LXXI.
- Reports, Chairman County Superintendents Common Schools, 1841-1846.
- Confederate Hospital Records, Vols. I-III.

DESCRIPTION AND CALENDARING OF MSS.

Prior to April 1, 1924, several collections totaling 6000 papers were read and described for the *Handbook of Manuscripts*. On April 1, D. L.

Corbitt began work as special Calendar Clerk on the staff. The employment of a specialist to describe, calendar, and index its collections is a goal toward which the Historical Commission has been working for years. By remarkable diligence Mr. Corbitt has checked over and made ready for the press calendars of twelve collections previously prepared. He has prepared calendars for two more, has read and described several thousand pages of manuscript. His most important work, however, has been the preparation of a handbook describing county records. It numbers eighty-one pages and describes 565 volumes of manuscript.

PUBLICATIONS

The following publications have come from the press:

Bulletin 29, Ninth Biennial Report of the Secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission, December 1920-November 30, 1922, Paper, 39 pp.

Bulletin 30, Proceedings of the Twenty-second Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina. Compiled by R. B. House, Secretary. Paper, 101 pp.

The North Carolina Manual for 1923. Compiled and edited by R. B. House. Cloth, 508 pp.

The North Carolina Historical Review. Published quarterly. Volume I, Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4. 540 pp.

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

In January 1924 was launched *The North Carolina Historical Review* as a medium for the publication and discussion of history in North Carolina. This magazine is issued quarterly and a price of two dollars per year is charged for it. Members of the State Literary and Historical Association receive it for the special price of one dollar per year. It goes free of charge to institutions with which the Historical Commission maintains exchange relations. The magazine has at present a circulation of about one thousand copies.

THE PAPERS OF GOVERNOR BICKETT

By coöperation with the Printing Commission and the Council of State, the Historical Commission published *The Public Letters and Papers of Thomas Walter Bickett, Governor of North Carolina, 1917-1921*. Compiled by Sanford Martin, edited by R. B. House, Cloth, 394 pp.

There are in press at this date, *The Papers of John Steele*, in two volumes, edited by H. M. Wagstaff; and Volume II of *Records of The Moravians in North Carolina*.

PUBLICATIONS IN PREPARATION

The following documentary works are being made ready for the press:

J. G. deR. Hamilton is editing the diaries of Randolph Shotwell, and he estimates that these will run into four volumes.

J. G. deR. Hamilton and R. D. W. Connor are editing a history of constitutional conventions in North Carolina.

Walker Barnette, under the supervision of the Department of History in the University of North Carolina, is editing a history of political conventions in North Carolina.

William K. Boyd is editing the records of the Lutherans in North Carolina and a series of reprints of Eighteenth Century tracts on North Carolina.

The above works will be published at the rate of two volumes a year. But chief emphasis is now being laid on getting in shape for the press the documentary volumes of "Public School Education in North Carolina," by M. C. S. Noble. Mr. Noble, in addition to years of general work on this subject, has donated to the undertaking a year's leave of absence obtained from the University of North Carolina, where he is dean of the School of Education.

This program of publication continues the policy of printing private papers, but lays special emphasis on a series of topical documentary histories now in great demand.

THE CONFEDERATE WAR HISTORY FUND AND THE WORK OF D. H. HILL

In 1916 the Historical Commission became trustees of a fund donated for the preparation of a history of North Carolina in the Civil War. This fund of \$25,000 was donated by the late Robert H. Ricks of Rocky Mount to the North Carolina Confederate Veterans' Association. Two conditions attached to the gift: (1) the late Dr. D. H. Hill was to prepare a history of this state's part in the Civil War; (2) the Historical Commission was to supervise his work, pay his salary and office expenses from the fund, and supervise the publication of the completed work from such funds as might be available. Dr. Hill began his work July 1, 1916, and continued it diligently till his death in 1924. The Ricks Fund, however, was exhausted in 1922, and the Historical Commission made it possible for Dr. Hill to continue the work till 1924.

At the time of his death Dr. Hill had completed a military history of the war in Virginia from the battle of Bethel to the conclusion of the battle of Sharpsburg, several chapters on North Carolina's blockade operations, the Federal invasion of eastern North Carolina, and the state's munitions business. The whole amounts to about one thousand pages of manuscript.

The Historical Commission directed a committee composed of W. N. Everett, M. C. S. Noble, and the secretary of the Historical Commission to take steps for the publication and sale of this work, and the Historical Commission announced itself as ready to continue further work on the uncompleted history if sufficient funds could be found.

ACCESSIONS

ADDITIONS TO FORMER COLLECTIONS

From one to a dozen pieces were added to the following collections of private papers: W. A. Graham, Minis Ward, Z. B. Vance, John L. Bridgers, Nathaniel Macon, B. F. Gatling, Robert Bingham, Kenneth Raynor, Kiffin Rockwell, Walter Clark, John Branch, Hogg Papers, James Iredell, Andrew Jackson, W. W. Holden, Archibald DeBow Murphey, R. W. Winston, Philemon Hawkins.

More numerous and important additions are as follows:

LEGISLATIVE OATH BOOK. 1784-1897, MSS. 150 pp.

TREASURER'S PAPERS, 317 pieces.

WALTER CLARK PAPERS, 100 miscellaneous pieces.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL'S PAPERS. Five Letter-books, 1877-1903; One volume of opinions, 1869-1889.

W. W. HOLDEN. From Junius Grimes was received Commission appointing Wyatt Outlaw a member of the Union League of America, signed by W. W. Holden.

JOURNALS OF LITERARY BOARD. 1826-1867; LETTER-BOOKS. Superintendent of Public Instruction. These were found and brought in by M. C. S. Noble.

RECORDS OF PORTS OF ROANOKE, BATH AND NEWBURN

WILLS (originals from Secretary of State), 1663-1700.

W. A. GRAHAM PAPERS. From Major W. A. Graham were received copies of two letters from W. A. Graham to William L. Herndon, on survey of valley of the Amazon, 1851, Feb. 15. Paper relating to W. A. Graham as Legislator and Governor, undated. Twenty pieces relating to charter of North Carolina Railroad and legislative proceedings, 1848-1849. George W. Graham to "Willie," April 27, 1906.

PHOTOSTATS OF OLD NORTH CAROLINA NEWSPAPERS, from the Massachusetts Historical Society:

THE NORTH CAROLINA JOURNAL

Hodge & Wills, Halifax

YEAR	No.	DATE	YEAR	No.	DATE
1792	3	August 1	1792	17	November 7
	6	22		18	14
	7	29		19	21
1792	8	September 5		20	28
	10	19		21	December 5
	11	26		22	12
	12	October 3		23	19
	13	10		24	26
	14	17	1793	25	January 2
	15	24		26	9
	16	31		27	16

YEAR	No.	DATE	YEAR	No.	DATE
1793	28	January 23	1793	30	February 6
	29	30		31	13

Printed by Abraham Hodge

1793	32	February 20	1794	95	May 7
	33	27		96	14
	34	March 6		97	21
	35	13		98	28
	36	20		99	June 4
	37	27		100	11
	38	April 3		101	18
	39	10		102	25
	40	17		103	July 2
	42	May 1		104	9
	43	8		105	16
	44	15		106	23
	45	22		107	30
	46	29		108	August 6
	47	June 5		109	13
	48	12		110	20
	49	19		111	27
	50	26		112	September 3
	51	July 3		113	10
	52	10		114	17
	56	August 7		115	24
	57	14		116	October 1
	58	21		117	13
	59	28		118	20
	60	September 4		119	27
	61	11		120	November 3
	64	October 1		121	10
	65	9		122	17
	66	16		123	24
	67	23	1794	124	December 1
1793	68	October 30		125	8
	69	November 6		126	15
	70	13		127	22
	71	20		128	29
	72	27	1795	129	January 5
	73	December 4		130	12
	74	11		131	19
	75	18		132	26
	76	25		133	February 2
1794	77	January 1		134	9
	78	or 79, Jan. 8		135	16
	or 15—pp. 2 and 3			136	23
	80	January 22		137	March 2
	81	29		138	9
	82	February 5		139	16
	83	12		140	23
	84	19		141	30
	85	26		142	April 6
	86	March 5		143	13
	87	12		144	20
	88	19		145	27
	89	26		146	May 4
	90	April 2		147	11
	91	9		148	18
	92	16		149	25
	93	23		150	June 1
	94	30		151	8

YEAR	No.	DATE	YEAR	No.	DATE
1795	152	June 15	1797	251	May 8
	153	22		252	15
	154	29		253	22
	155	July 6		254	29
	156	13		255	June 5
	157	20		256	12
	158	27		257	19
	159	August 3		258	26
	160	10		259	July 2
	161	17		260	10
	162	24		261	17
	163	31		262	24
	164	September 7		263	31
	165	14		264	August 7
	166	21		265	14
	with 2 pp. supplement			266	21
	167	28		267	28
	168	October 5		268	September 4
	with 2 pp. supplement			269	11
	169	12		270	18
	170	19		271	25
	171	26		272	October 2
	172	November 2		273	9
	173	9		274	16
	174	16		275	23
	175	23		276	30
	176	30		277	November 6
	177	December 7		278	13
	178	14		279	20
	179	21		281	December 4
	180	28		282	11
1796	181	January 11		283	18
	189	February 29		284	25
		April 4	1798	285	January 1
		Extra, 2 pp.		286	8
	199	May 9		287	15
	204	June 13		289	29
	207	July 4		290	February 5
	208	11		291	12
	219	September 26		292	19
	230	December 12		293	26
	231	19		294	March 5
	232	26		295	12
1797	233	January 2		296	19
	234	9		297	26
	235	16		298	April 2
	236	23		299	9
	237	30		302	30
	238	February 6		303	May 7
	239	13		with extra, 4 pp.	
	240	20		304	14
	241	27		extra only, 4 pp.	
	242	March 6		305	21
	243	13		306	28
	244	20		307	June 4
	245	27		with extra, 4 pp.	
	247	April 10		309	18
	248	17		with 4 pp. extra	
	249	24		310	25
	250	May 1			

YEAR	No.	DATE	YEAR	No.	DATE
1798	311	July 2	1799	338	January 7
	312	9		339	14
		with 4 pp. extra		340	21
	314	23		341	28
	316	August 6		342	February 4
	317	13		343	11
	318	20		344	18
	319	27			with 4 pp. extra
	320	September 3		345	25
	321	10		346	March 4
	322	17			with 4 pp. extra
	323	24		347	11
	324	October 1		349	25
	325	8		350	April 1
	326	15		352	15
	327	22			with 4 pp. extra
	328	29		353	22
	329	November 5			with 4 pp. extra
	330	12		355	May 6
	331	19			with 4 pp. extra
	332	26		356	13
	333	December 3			with 4 pp. extra
	335	17		357	20
	336	24	1800	408	May 12
	337	31			2 pp.
			1802	530	September 13

The following newspapers were found by D. L. Corbitt of the Historical Commission staff. These newspapers are mutilated and in some instances can scarcely be read, due to the fact that they had been pasted together and formed the backs to Court Records of Tyrrell County. It was in this service of over 100 years that they became so badly worn.

The importance of these newspapers lies in the fact that all North Carolina histories give the date of the earliest publication of a newspaper in the State as 1755. However, R. D. W. Connor in 1920 unearthed a copy of the *North Carolina Gazette* published in 1753. But the finding of these papers sets the date back two more years, and it is known that North Carolina did have a newspaper as early as 1751. The earliest copy of the *North Carolina Gazette* now known to be in existence is dated November 15, 1751, and is number 15, which makes the probable date of the first issue sometime in July 1751.

These papers have been unpasted, washed, pressed smooth, and covered with crepeline, and are ready for use. They are:

THE NORTH CAROLINA GAZETTE

James Davis, Newbern

YEAR	No.	DATE	REMARKS
1751	15	November 15	The original is crepelined.
1752		March 6	The original is crepelined, mutilated.
1752	32	March 13	The original is crepelined, mutilated.
1752			The original is crepelined, mutilated, pp. 1 and 2.
1768	—	—	21 The original is crepelined, mutilated, pp. 1 and 2.

MARTIN'S NORTH CAROLINA GAZETTE

F. X. Martin, Newbern

1793 The original is crepelined, mutilated.

THE STATE GAZETTE OF NORTH CAROLINA

Hodge & Wills, Edenton

1792 337 June 29 The original is crepelined.

THE POST-ANGEL, OR UNIVERSAL ENTERTAINMENT

Printed for Robert Archibald by Joseph Beasley, Edenton

Vol. I

1801 28 April 9 4 pp. mutilated

VIRGINIA GAZETTE

By William Hunter, Williamsburg

1752 Mutilated

THE NORTH CAROLINA JOURNAL

By Abraham Hodge, Halifax

1800 430 October 13 Mutilated, pp. 1 and 2.

MAPS.—The following maps were received:

Photostat of a new Map of Carolina, by Robert Morden, 1687.

Photostat of a map of the bundary line between North Carolina and Virginia, October. 1726.

Lands granted by George II to Earl of Granville, March and April, 1746.

CONFEDERATE RECORDS.—The following Confederate records have been received.

A Reminiscence of 1863, pamphlet, 8 pp. From Robert Bingham.

Confederate War Diary of Captain H. H. Chambers.

Three Hospital Record Books, 1863-1864, MSS. 350 pp. From Mrs. J. S. Wellborn.

The Currency of the Confederate States, one volume of currency mounted and described. From Mrs. Helen Chaffer Howard.
Confederate Naval Records, Cir. 200. From W. H. McElroy.
Special Orders Confederate States Military Prison at Salisbury, N. C. Copy of original book in MSS. From W. M. Saunders.
Reminiscence of Confederate Days; State of North Carolina in account with F. H. Fries, MSS. From John W. Fries.
Complete Roster of Men and Boys who enlisted from Nash County, MSS. Cir. 150 pp. From Mrs. Tempe W. Holt.
List of North Carolina Men in Winchester (Va.) Cemetery, MSS. 20 pp. Acquired by purchase.

REVOLUTIONARY RECORDS.—The following Revolutionary records have been received:

"A Brief Memorandum of John Walker," etc., MSS. 8 pp. From Miss Hannah Patterson Bolles.
A General Return of the Third N. C. Regiment, August 16, 1779. Revolutionary Land Warrants, indexed.
Muster Roll, 1777-1779, MSS. 20 pp. By purchase from Anderson Galleries.

SECRETARY OF STATE'S PAPERS.—The following papers from the office of the Secretary of State have been received:

Boundary of North and South Carolina. Reports of Commissioners, 1805-1815, 1 Vol. MSS.
Cherokee Lands—Surveyors' and Commissioners' Report, 1824. MSS. 1 Vol.
311 miscellaneous pieces.

WORLD WAR RECORDS.—The following World War records have been received:

War Diary of the 120th Infantry, 1918-1919, 1,000 pieces.
Officers and Enlisted Personnel Headquarters Company, 324th Infantry, pamphlet, 32 pp. From A. D. Cashion.
Monroe Canteen Register, containing autographs of Marshal Foch, Woodrow Wilson, General Pershing. From Mrs. A. L. Monroe.
Photograph of the 318th Field Artillery Regiment. From J. F. Roach.
History of the Wake Forest Chapter Red Cross, 1918-1920, MSS. 6 pp. From Mrs. J. M. Brewer.
Letters of Arthur Bluethenthal, 10 pieces. From L. Bluethenthal.
Sergeant Halyburton, the First American Soldier Captured in the World War. By Charles W. Hyams, Dixie Publishing Company, Moravian Falls, N. C. 1923, paper, 79 pp.
Halifax County records, 300 pieces. From Mrs. E. L. Whitehead.
One hundred pieces relating to Council of Defense. From D. H. Hill.
Sketch of Kiffin Yates Rockwell, aviator in Escadrille Lafayette.
Society of the First Division: History of the First Division During the World War, 1917-1919. Philadelphia: Winston, 1922, 450 pp. By purchase.
Bach and Hall: The Fourth Division. Its Services and Achievements in the World War, 1920. Issued by the Division Association. One volume, 369 pp. with maps and illustrations. By purchase.

Huidekoper: The History of the 33d Division. Illinois State Historical Library. Four volumes.

Starlight: Political Record of the 27th Division. New York: Harpers, 1919, 250 pp.

George and Cooper: Pictorial History of the Twenty-sixth Division. Boston: Ball, 320 pp.

COUNTY RECORDS

Fred A. Olds, Collector for the Hall of History, has brought in for the period covered by this report the following county papers:

COUNTY MATERIAL.—The collection of county material for the archives department began in 1917, and has been diligently prosecuted ever since. The growth of this section of the archives department has been remarkable. In many cases the bound books and loose documents were found in very bad condition. This work is now nearly completed, and 1925 will no doubt see its finish. During the two years ending December 1, 1924, there were brought in the following county records from 34 counties:

CHATHAM. Original will books, 1793-94; 1794-98; 1798-1818; 1817-57. Inventories of estates, 1801-12; 1809-12; 1809-22. County Court minutes, 1774-79; 1780-85; 1790-94; 1794-99; 1811-16; 1816-22; 1822-27; 1828-33; 1834-41; 1842-49; 1849-58; 1860-61. Court of Equity minutes, 1821-39.

EDGEcombe. County Court minutes, 1757-64; 1764-72; 1772-76; 1778-84; 1784-90; 1790-92; 1792-94; 1795-97; 1797-1800; 1800-04; 1804-07; 1807-11; 1811-13; 1813-16; 1816-19; 1819-20; 1820-26; 1826-31; 1831-40; 1840-44; 1844-48; 1848-52; 1853-57; 1857-63; 1863-68. Inventories of estates, 1783-88; 1788-90; 1790-92; 1798-1800. Crown docket, 1755-62. Register of marks and brands of cattle, 1732-1809. Execution docket, 1769-71.

FRANKLIN. Marriage bonds (additional). Original wills prior to 1800. Inventories of estates prior to 1800. Lists of taxable property prior to 1800.

NASH. County Court minutes, October, 1778; 1779-85; 1787-88; 1791-93; 1798-1804; 1804-07; 1807-15; 1815-21; 1824; 1825; 1826-28; 1828-31; 1837-43; 1844-51; 1851-64; 1864-68.

JACKSON. County Court minutes, 1853-68. Marriage record book, 1853-74.

WILKES. County Court minutes, 1778-85.

POLK. Marriage bonds. County Court minutes, 1847-48 and 1866-68.

ASHE. County Court minutes. Marriage bonds. Record book, wardens of the poor, 1832-55.

TRANSYLVANIA. County school records.

RICHMOND. County Court minutes, 1779-86; 1786-92; 1800-04; 1804-08; 1809-19; 1830-38; 1838-43; 1843-47; 1847-50; 1866-68. Marriage bonds.

CARTERET. Original wills to 1800.

ONslow. Original wills to 1800.

CHOWAN. Original wills, 1723-1799. Marriage bonds, 1740-1868. Inventories of estates, 1777. Lists of taxable persons, 1766-67; 1799. County Court minutes, 1725; 1727-28; 1739; 1732-34; 1736; 1739-45; 1747; 1749; 1752-59; 1780; 1787; 1788-91; 1791-98; 1795. Deed books, 1699-1800. Records of Port Roanoke.

PERQUIMANS. Original wills (additional), 1751-1800. Court documents of Bath, New Bern and Newton (the first name of Wilmington). Inventories of estates. Lists of taxable persons; slave sales and miscellaneous court papers. Land patents of Chowan, Perquimans, Edgecombe and Craven. Assize docket, 1742, at Bath, for Beaufort and Hyde. Assize docket, 1742, at Wilmington for New Hanover, Onslow and Bladen. Court dockets, 1745-46, for Edgecombe and Northampton. Original act of 1746, making New Bern the seat of government.

ROBESON. Original wills to 1803.

WARREN. Original wills to 1800.

ORANGE. Grant book, 1784-95. Original wills, 1757-1800. Register of negro cohabitation, 1865-68.

TYRRELL. Original wills to 1800. County Court minutes, 1758. Deed books, 1750-55; 1756-57; 1792-94; 1816-19. Land entry books, 1778-80; 1779-81; 1783-91; 1792-96.

PASQUOTANK. Original wills to 1800. Settlements of estates, 1777-98. Deed books, 1700-47; 1755-59; 1759-62; 1764-66; 1778-85.

BEAUFORT. Deed book, 1784-1806.

MARTIN. County Court minutes, 1847. Equity Court minutes, 1809-29. Deed book, 1774-87.

CURRITUCK. County Court minutes, 1851-68.

HALIFAX. Original deed book, 1796-1802.

GATES. Original wills to 1800. Marriage records, 1851-66. Public school records, 1841-61.

NORTHAMPTON. Original wills to 1800.

CUMBERLAND. County Court minutes, 1755-59; 1759-65; 1772-76; 1777-78; 1778-83.

MITCHELL. County Court minutes, 1861-68.

CABARRUS. County Court minutes, 1793-97.

ROWAN. Docket of Supreme (Superior) Court, Rowan, Orange and Bladen, 1756-70. Original wills, 1753-1820.

STOKES. County Court minutes, 1790-93; 1793-95; 1795-98; 1798-1800. Lists of taxable persons, 1790-93; 1793-95; 1795-98; 1798-1800. Lists of taxable persons, 1790-1800; 1801-06. Inventories of estates, 1790-1800. Public road records, 1806-21.

YADKIN. County Court minutes, 1851-58; 1858-68. Marriage bonds, 1851-68.

CASWELL. Original wills to 1800. County Court minutes, 1777-81; 1788-91; 1788-94; 1792; 1797; 1798; 1794; 1801; 1803-06; 1809-13; 1814-19; 1819-23; 1835-39; 1839-43; 1843-44. Land entries, 1781-84; 1788-1858. Road book, 1822.

BLADEN. Deed books (originals), 1734-35; 1792-1804. County Court minutes, 1866-67.

JONES. County Court minutes, 1807-16; 1808-10; 1808-25; 1833-41; 1841-51; 1851-60; 1860-68. Original wills, 1778-1807.

SURRY. Miscellaneous court papers.

NEW COLLECTIONS

AUTOGRAPHS.—From C. Alphonso Smith the Historical Commission received the following autographs: A. L. S. Theodore Roosevelt, December 20, 1916; A. L. S., W. S. Porter (O. Henry), February 24, 1908.

THE B. F. STEVENS FACSIMILES OF MANUSCRIPTS IN EUROPEAN ARCHIVES RELATING TO AMERICA, 1773-1783. Twenty-four cases MSS. (2,107 pp.) One case of index. This is a famous transcript of older records relating to America. It contains some North Carolina material.

CIVIL WAR NEWSPAPERS.—From J. K. Little were received the following newspapers: New York *Herald*, 1861-1865 (incomplete set); Boston *Liberator*, 1860, 1863.

SOUTHERLAND, HILL, AND TURNER GENEALOGY.—This is a manuscript of 24 pages presented by E. R. Voorhees.

POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE CONFEDERACY.—Manuscript of W. A. Montgomery. From the family of the late Judge Walter A. Montgomery was received this work of several hundred pages of manuscript. It contains valuable material, the result of several years of research.

WALKER PAPERS.—1700-1901 (62 pieces). This collection was given to the Commission by the Walker and related families of Wilmington.

CAREY'S GENERAL ATLAS, 1814.—This atlas contains a valuable map of North Carolina.

ROBERT F. HOKE PAPERS.—From Van Wyck Hoke were received fifteen letters of his father, General R. F. Hoke.

AMERICAN LOYALISTS' PAPERS.—In the summer of 1922, R. D. W. Connor, as special agent for the Historical Commission, searched for North Carolina material in the British Public Records Office and the British Museum, and reported his findings to the Historical Commission. His list of documents bearing on North Carolina that ought to be copied covers over sixty typewritten pages. But Mr. Connor specially recommended that certain papers relating to American Loyalists in the Audit Office Papers be copied at once because they were rapidly deteriorating. The Historical Commission accordingly arranged with B. F. Stevens and Brown of London to begin copying these papers at once. This work is still in progress and to date several hundred sheets of transcript have been delivered.

HISTORICAL MARKERS

Some years ago the Historical Commission erected a marker at the grave of Nathaniel Macon. In May 1923, the people of this community dedicated Macon's grave and a large plot of ground around it as a park.

On June 7, 1923, the Richard Dobbs Spaight Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution at New Bern, unveiled on the court house square three handsome bronze tablets to Abner Nash (1780-1781).

Richard Dobbs Spaight (1792-1795), and Richard Dobbs Spaight, Jr. (1835-1836), the three Governors of the State furnished by Craven County. The Historical Commission contributed toward these tablets and took part in the unveiling exercises.

In May, 1924, the Raleigh Chapter of the Daughters of the Revolution unveiled a marker on the old Ramsgate Road. This tablet was erected in coöperation with the Historical Commission.

PORTRAIT OF J. BRYAN GRIMES

As a gift from the Grimes family, the Historical Commission has received an oil portrait of John Bryan Grimes, 1866-1923; Secretary of State of North Carolina, 1900-1923; member of the Historical Commission almost from its beginning in 1903, and Chairman of the Commission at the time of his death. The portrait is by Louis Freeman of Washington, D. C. It was presented to the Historical Commission December 6, 1923, in appropriate exercises in connection with the twenty-third annual session of the State Literary and Historical Association. The address of presentation was made by J. Y. Joyner, that of acceptance by W. N. Everett. The portrait now hangs in the eastern Hall of History.

PORTRAIT OF WALTER HINES PAGE

As a gift to the State of North Carolina from the State Literary and Historical Association, the Historical Commission received as custodian an oil portrait of Walter Hines Page, late Ambassador to the Court of St. James. The portrait is by the artist, Philip A. de Lazlo, and is a copy of the original by de Lazlo that now hangs in the American Embassy in London. The address of presentation was made by Frederic M. Hanes, of Winston-Salem; that of acceptance by Governor Cameron Morrison. The portrait now hangs in the eastern Hall of History.

HALL OF HISTORY

I have called your attention to the splendid work of Fred A. Olds in bringing in material from the counties. I now call your attention to his report as Collector for the Hall of History. He has lectured to 177 groups of school children from all sections of the State, and shown them objects of interest not only in the museum, but in the city of Raleigh. In addition he has shown uniform courtesy and consideration to several thousands of visitors, particularly during the time of the State Fair. His report follows:

REPORT OF THE COLLECTOR FOR THE HALL OF HISTORY

RALEIGH, N. C., November 30, 1924.

MR. R. B. HOUSE, *Secretary*:

I take pleasure in reporting as follows:

During the two years now ending, 177 schools or classes in schools, from places other than Raleigh, came here and were shown the Hall of History, the total number of teachers and pupils being over 5,300, these coming from 33 counties, some as far east as Chowan, and some as far west as Leaksville.

All the counties were visited in the two-year period, and talks on history were made to schools of all sorts, as well as talks on other subjects to Sunday schools and church congregations, the schools thus visited numbering 392. Aid was given in teaching history in the summer schools at Cullowhee and Boone (the Appalachian) a week at each place.

Two hundred special articles were prepared and published, including the histories of all the one hundred counties. The laws from 1790 to date were carefully abstracted and published. The wills from 1760 to 1800 were abstracted and are in type, ready to appear in January or February, 1925.

The collections during the two-year period have been both numerous and varied, and covered some new fields. Among these was a photograph of the only known portrait of General William Lee Davidson. This is placed in the notable collection of pictures of persons for whom our counties are named—the only collection of the sort possessed by any State. Engravings of the Duke of Albemarle, the Earl of Clarendon and the Earl of Bath are other additions, as are also rare lithographs in color of General Andrew Jackson, and William A. Graham as a candidate for Vice-President of the United States.

Among the long list of notable gifts and loans are the following: An extremely rare and most interesting map of what is now North Carolina, made in 1687, by Robert Morden, London. The original record books of Port Roanoke (Edenton) and of Port Brunswick (old Brunswick town, now extinct) were gifts, the latter by Dr. James Sprunt. Earrings of Miss Anna Wake, sister-in-law of Governor William Tryon, and of Mrs. John Baptista Ashe, who was Miss Montford of Halifax. Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World, first edition, 1634, London, a gift from Mr. Eric Norden of Wilmington. Earrings of Martha Lenoir (12 years old in 1780) made by a blacksmith and lent by her great grandson, Mr. Gordon Hackett of North Wilkesboro. The music (Swiss) which led to the writing to North Carolina's song, "The Old North State Forever." The certificate of honor for 75 years of service as a school teacher, presented by Governor Morrison and State Superintendent Eugene C. Brooks to Captain George L. Cathey of Macon County, soon after his 101st birthday. Thirty-one pen-and-ink sketches of notable buildings in Raleigh and Wake County, made by Mrs. J. R. Chamberlain and presented by the D. A. R. Oil portraits of Walter Hines Page, American Ambassador to Great Britain; of J. Bryan Grimes, Secretary of State, and of James I. Metts, of Wilmington, commanding the North Carolina Confederate Veterans, are gifts of note.

Nine oil paintings and eighteen other pictures, illustrating the 30th Division of the American Expeditionary Forces in France and Belgium, painted on the spot, by Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon S. Hutchins of Argyle and Southerland Highlanders, who aided in training that division and then served with it, forms an invaluable part of the World War collection.

¹All this is being done privately by Colonel Olds.

Particularly attractive wearing apparel of the period 1800-1861; Philip's Battle miniature of Chapel Hill, 1847; a "beaver" hat, 1800; dresses of Mrs. W. H. C. Whiting, Wilmington, 1861.

Photographs of "Big Bertha," the long-range German cannon, which fired on Paris from a point 75 miles distant, and of the first airplane flight by the Wright brothers at Kitty Hawk, N. C., December 17, 1903; also of the new U. S. cruiser *Raleigh*, 1924.

The sword of Col. Paul F. Faison, 56th Regiment of N. C. State Troops, C. S. A.; State flag of the 38th Regiment N. C. State Troops, Col. William J. Hoke, commanding.

The decoration of the order of the "Tower and the Sword," conferred by the Republic of Portugal on the colors of the 120th Infantry (borne by that regiment as part of the National Guard) and so placed by Gen. A. J. Bowley.

Photographs of the dedication of the memorial at the grave of Nathaniel Macon, in Warren County; that at the grave of Gen. W. D. Pender, C. S. A., in the Tarboro Episcopal churchyard, and that at Bath to commemorate its 219th anniversary.

The city of Cambridge, Massachusetts, made a gift of a section of the "Washington Elm," under which George Washington took the oath as commander-in-chief of the American Army, July 5, 1775.

A proclamation of the war with Spain, by King George 1st, posted on the courthouse of Perquimans County. A splendid set of medals awarded by France to be placed on the uniform coat of Kiffin Rockwell, of the Escadrille Lafayette. Engraving of the Battle of Southwest Creek near Kinston, March 8, 1865. The original act making New Bern the capitol of the Province of North Carolina.

The original lists of Colonial magistrates, 1763-1769; the military land warrants to North Carolina soldiers of the Continental Line of the Revolution; the original wills and the inventories of estates filed with the State, 1663-1760, were all collected, as were court documents of Bath, New Bern, and Newton (the first name of Wilmington); the letters and documents of James Glasgow, Secretary of State; very important letters to and from James Iredell, Sr., of Edenton; and a letter by Iredell and other Judges, 1792, to the President of the United States.

Complete sets of photographs illustrating the Cherokee Indians of North Carolina, who became citizens by act of Congress, June, 1924; the Stonewall Jackson Training School and of various other institutions of the State, court-houses, public highways, schools, etc.

The manuscript roster of the North Carolina troops of the Continental Line, War of the Revolution.

Respectfully submitted,
FRED A. OLDS.

LEGISLATIVE REFERENCE LIBRARY

Below will be found the report of the Legislative Reference Librarian. During the period covered by this report the Legislative Reference Library has moved into new quarters made available by the Library Commission's having vacated rooms belonging to the Historical Commission but loaned to the Library Commission until new quarters for it in the Agricultural Building were available. The Legislative Librarian has issued five bulletins and has drafted six hundred and fifty bills for members of the General Assembly.

The report follows:

REPORT OF THE LEGISLATIVE REFERENCE LIBRARIAN

RALEIGH, N. C., December 1, 1924.

MR. R. B. HOUSE, *Secretary*,
North Carolina Historical Commission,
Raleigh, N. C.

DEAR SIR: I beg to submit herewith a report of the work of the Legislative Reference Library from December 1, 1922, to November 30, 1924:

During the past two years the following publications have been prepared and distributed among the various libraries and interested citizens and organizations throughout the State:

1. A booklet of 31 pages giving the official vote by counties for members of the Corporation Commission, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, Judges of the Superior Courts, Congressmen, Solicitors, and Constitutional Amendments. A similar booklet covering the 1924 election is now in the hands of the printers.

2. In January, 1923, a Directory of State and County Officials, containing 71 pages, was issued and a second edition was printed due to the increased demand for this useful booklet.

3. Bulletin No. 3, 43 pages, containing amendments to the Consolidated Statutes enacted at the regular session, 1923.

4. A synopsis of the game laws of the various counties, containing 35 pages, was published in the summer of 1923. This booklet was distributed among the county officials and a copy sent to every newspaper in the State, so that the public might be advised as to the more recent changes in the local game laws.

Following the extra session in 1924, another synopsis was compiled and issued, bringing the game laws up to date in the one hundred counties in the State.

5. In the summer of 1923 a Court Calendar, covering the biennium ending June 30, 1925, was compiled and published. This, being the only calendar of the kind published, was especially helpful to court officials and others interested in keeping up with the courts.

During the fall of 1924 the public was advised as to the nature of the proposed Constitutional Amendments to be voted on at the November election.

Soon after the election in November, 1924, a list of the members-elect of the next General Assembly was compiled and published, and the following letter mailed to each member:

I am enclosing a list of the members of the incoming Legislature. If either your name or address is not correctly given, kindly advise and correction will be made in all future publications. During the session of the Legislature the office of the Legislative Reference Librarian, on the second floor of the Supreme Court Building, will be prepared to draft any bills desired and to look up any laws of this or other States on subjects desired. I trust you will call by soon after your arrival in January and let us be of service to you in any way possible.

During the regular session of 1923 over 500 bills were drafted for Legislators, and during the Extra Session of 1924, 170 bills were similarly prepared in the Legislative Reference Library.

Many requests have been made by members-elect of the incoming General Assembly for information on probable legislation, and the same is being given prompt attention.

At the request of the incoming Governor, there is being compiled available data from the various counties as to whether the present court system is adequate, economical, and expeditious.

In April, 1923, the Reference Librarian attended the meeting of the American Library Association in Hot Springs, Arkansas, conferring with those in charge of work similar to that in the Legislative Reference Library. He has also attended meetings of the State Library Association.

During the past two years it may be safely said that the Legislative Reference Library has been of increased service to legislators, officials and the public generally. Year by year the services afforded are increasing in value and helpfulness.

Respectfully yours,

H. M. LONDON,

Legislative Reference Librarian.

SUMMARY

The various and numerous services rendered the public by the Historical Commission staff cannot be adequately summarized. But the following analysis of the foregoing report will show the main features of the work for the past two years.

1. A collection of over 500,000 documents was kept available to the public. Several thousand inquiries were answered by letter. Two hundred students were served in the Historical Commission's rooms.

2. 3,655 separate pieces were properly filed in various collections. 220 volumes were properly labeled, filed, and catalogued. The County Records collection of 1177 cases and volumes was re-labeled, arranged, and catalogued by cards.

3. The whole collections were searched for documents bearing on education, and the documents selected were copied and verified.

4. 13,582 pieces of manuscript were scientifically repaired and mounted.

5. 34 volumes were bound.

6. 3 collections, a total of 570 volumes were calendered or described.

7. 5 publications were issued.

8. 8 publications are under way.

9. *The North Carolina Historical Review* was founded.

10. 34 collections were added to.

11. 9 new collections were secured and arranged.

12. Work was begun on a new series of the Colonial Records of North Carolina.

13. 4 historical markers were erected.

14. Material was furnished for use in 48 monographs or serious studies on North Carolina history.

15. 177 classes of school children, a total of 5,300 pupils, visited the Hall of History and received lectures on North Carolina.

16. Numerous objects of value and interest were added to the Hall of History.

17. In addition to lecturing in all parts of the State, the Collector for the Hall of History wrote 200 articles and abstracted thousands of records otherwise inaccessible.

18. 5 publications were issued by the legislative Reference Library, and 670 bills were drafted.

Respectfully submitted,

R. B. HOUSE,

Secretary.

RALEIGH, N. C., December 1, 1924.

APPENDIX

(By direction of the Historical Commission the following remarks of James Y. Joyner on J. Bryan Grimes, and the sketch of D. H. Hill are printed:)

JOHN BRYAN GRIMES

Born June, 1868, in Raleigh, reared at Grimesland, Pitt County, educated at several of the leading private academies of the State and at the University of North Carolina, son of one of the most distinguished Generals of the Confederacy, descended on his mother's side from one of the most intellectual and distinguished families of the State, elected in 1900 Secretary of State of North Carolina, filling this high office with rare efficiency, acceptability and popularity until his death. Chairman of the State Historical Commission, Trustee of the University of North Carolina, member of its Executive Committee, active and influential member of various farmers' organizations, the Grange, the Alliance, the Farmers Union, the cotton and tobacco coöperative marketing associations, in the latter of which he was a director, member of the following fraternal organizations: Masons, Knights of Pythias, Junior Order United American Mechanics, Sons of the Revolution. Died January 11, 1923.

Such is the brief statement of the principal incidents in the outward life of J. Bryan Grimes. It is indicative of the wide range of his interest and activities in the civic, agricultural and political life of his State. It is the character of a man that creates his life history. He lived as he did because he was what he was. I have chosen, therefore, to devote most of the brief time allotted for the presentation of his portrait to a sympathetic contemplation of his character. With us, his friends, gathered here to honor his memory and mourn his loss, it is the memory of what he was that lives and lasts to dull the edge of our sorrow at his untimely taking off in the prime of vigorous middle age, in the midst of a useful life that affords a measure of compensation for the loss of communion with him in the flesh till in the fulfillment of our Father's promise, we shall meet and know him again where parting is no more. It is the memory of what he was to us who were privileged to call him father, husband, brother, friend, and who loved him for what he was, that shall shine like a star upon our pathway to guide, inspire and comfort through the long or may be short night of our earthly separation.

He was a patriot, loving his State and his people with a passionate love that ever moved him to tireless and unselfish service of them. I have known few men in my day who loved his State as well and none who loved her more—none who found more genuine joy in her service.

He was proud of her history and jealous of her honor, quick and eager to defend both. To him North Carolina was a sort of personified mother whom he loved with a tenderness and a loyalty akin to that which a true son cherishes for his mother in the flesh. He was a zealous student of North Carolina history and a recognized authority on it. Few men of his or former generations have acquired such an accurate and comprehensive knowledge of it. He had accumulated a large and valuable collection of books and pamphlets pertaining to its history—probably one of the largest and most valuable private collections in the State. It was a joy to travel with him through the historical sections of the State and listen to his interesting stories of men and places. He was largely responsible for the establishment of the State Historical Commission and as its chairman for many years was deeply interested and very influential in directing and planning its splendid activities and in securing appropriations for its work. This was a labor of love with him and an expression of love of his State. He gave freely of his time and thought to it.

For twenty-two years he served as Secretary of State. As a public officer he was wonderfully efficient and was the incarnation of courtesy and accommodation. The moment one, even a stranger, stepped into his office and into his presence, he unconsciously felt that he was in an atmosphere of efficiency and courtesy. He reorganized, greatly expanded, and systematized almost perfectly the work of his office. He possessed the highest and rarest sort of executive ability—the sort that gets things done promptly and efficiently without noise, confusion or friction. He was painstaking and thorough in all his work. He had the gift of securing team work, of getting the best out of his employees by his own example and high ideals of public service, by his kindly consideration, sympathetic interest and appreciative encouragement, by inspiring in them a pride in their work, a love of it, and a sense of loyalty to him and it. The constantly increasing work of his great office was so well planned and executed that it moved like clock-work.

He was a man of strong convictions, firm and tenacious of them, but never dogmatic or intolerant in the assertion of them. He was a man of rare physical, intellectual and moral courage. He had an eye and a soul that quailed not before power, position, wealth, or danger. He was wise in counsel and his associates in public and private life sought his advice and respected and relied upon it. He was equally wise in taking counsel. He never obtruded his views or advice upon others. He welcomed and often sought the views and advice of friends. He was careful and chary in the choice of his intimate friends. He never wore his heart on his sleeve. Like most strong choice spirits, he was reserved. He opened his heart and his mind to his intimate friends, trusted them implicitly and was implicitly trusted by them. He grappled them to him with hooks of steel and loved and served them with a loyalty that won and held their love and loyalty.

Confederate veterans, comrades of his soldier-father, whose memory he revered, were the constant objects of his loving consideration. He lost no opportunity to aid with pen and purse, with influence and personal work every effort and plan to lighten the load and brighten the pathway of these old heroes.

He was a rare and fine combination of aristocrat and democrat. With a just pride in his honorable ancestry, reaching in an unbroken line to the English nobility of the "Middle Ages" and including many of the distinguished and dominant men in war and peace in every period of his State's history, he never paraded it, rarely alluded to it, and was without semblance or suggestion of vanity or snobbery on account of it. He possessed many of the virtues and few, if any, of the faults of the aristocrat and cavalier. In the finest sense he was broadly democratic in feeling and sympathy and in the ordering of his life, public and private. In prince and peasant he saw the man, and the humblest and the highest received like consideration at his hands.

A more loyal friend, I have not known; a more devoted husband, father, son, brother. He was my friend, faithful and true. He is gone! But the memory of that friendship remains. I would not exchange it for all the gold of "Ophir or all the wealth of India."

It is well, it is fitting, that the portrait of J. Bryan Grimes should be first to be hung in the Hall of History by the request of the Historical Commission, of which he was the able chairman for so many years, for the establishment of which he was largely responsible, and in the work of which he was so actively and deeply interested. No son of North Carolina has loved her history more, made more valuable contribution to its preservation, or been more active and successful in securing just recognition and appreciation of it at home and abroad. Measured by the highest standards of personal worth, private citizenship, and public service, J. Bryan Grimes was the peer of any man of our generation, and we honor ourselves in assigning him a place in North Carolina's "Hall of Fame" by placing his portrait in this Hall of History.

Mr. Chairman, on behalf of his family I have the honor and the pleasure to present to your Commission in compliance with its request this portrait of J. Bryan Grimes.

May succeeding generations of the North Carolina youth passing by his portrait hanging here pause to pay a reverent tribute to one who loved his State and served her well, be stimulated to study his life and work, to emulate his virtues, and to imitate his example.

DANIEL HARVEY HILL

On July 31, 1924, the Secretary of the Historical Commission, Daniel Harvey Hill, died. He was the son of Lieutenant-General Daniel Harvey Hill (Confederate States Army) and Isabella (Morrison) Hill, was born January 15, 1859, at Davidson College, N. C., and educated at that institution. From 1880 to 1908, he was a teacher of English, first at Georgia Military and Agricultural College till 1907, and second at North Carolina College of Agriculture and Engineering till 1908. From 1908 till 1916 he was president of this latter institution. But in July, 1916 he resigned from the presidency of this institution to accede to the request of the State Confederate Veterans Association to write, on the Ricks Foundation, a history of North Carolina in the Civil War. He continued on this occupation till his death. His completed work comprises a military history of the war in Virginia from Bethel to Sharpsburg, with supplementary chapters on the invasion of eastern North Carolina, and the blockade and munitions business of North Carolina. In addition to this work he wrote: *General Greene's Retreat*, Raleigh: 1901; *Agriculture for Beginners*, Boston: 1903; *Hill Readers*, Boston: 1907; *Young People's History of North Carolina*, Charlotte: 1907; *Corn Book*, Boston: 1920; and also numerous essays and studies in North Carolina history. He was a member of the North Carolina Historical Commission, 1904-1921, Secretary of the Historical Commission, 1921 till his death, Chairman of the State Council of Defense during the World War, President of the North Carolina Teachers Assembly, 1910, of the North Carolina Folk Lore Society, 1920, of the State Literary and Historical Association, 1921.

NO MAN IS FIT TO BE ENTRUSTED WITH
CONTROL OF THE PRESENT WHO IS IGNOR-
ANT OF THE PAST; AND NO PEOPLE WHO
ARE INDIFFERENT TO THEIR PAST NEED
HOPE TO MAKE THEIR FUTURE GREAT.

1863.023
PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION
BULLETIN No. 23

HANDBOOK OF COUNTY RECORDS

DEPOSITED WITH THE

NORTH CAROLINA
HISTORICAL COMMISSION

Corrected to
December 31, 1924

HANDBOOK OF COUNTY RECORDS

DEPOSITED WITH THE

NORTH CAROLINA
HISTORICAL COMMISSION

A REPORT

BY

D. L. CORBITT, CALENDAR CLERK

RALEIGH
EDWARDS & BROUGHTON PRINTING COMPANY
STATE PRINTERS
1925

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

In 1916 the North Carolina Historical Commission began systematically to collect the non-current records in the several counties. It has been literally a work of rescuing valuable material from precarious situations. Fire, water, vermin, thieves—in fact all the enemies of archives have preyed on these county records, and there are consequently many and serious gaps in them.

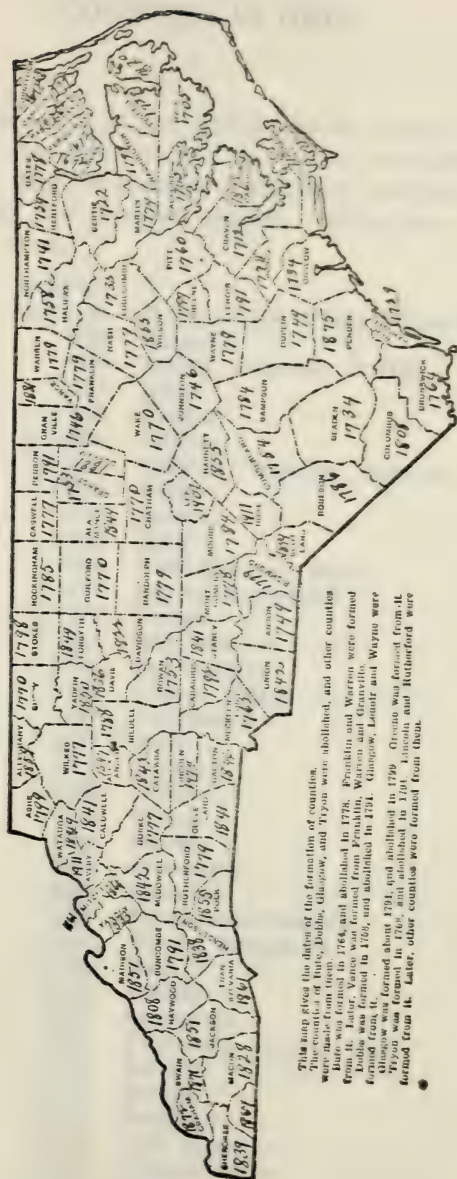
There is nothing mandatory in the law permitting counties to deposit their non-current records with the Historical Commission. Their action in this matter is entirely discretionary. Consequently, some counties have preferred as yet to retain custody of their records. But the fact that so many counties have thus enabled the Historical Commission to centralize this material and care for it is at once evidence of forethought and historical mindedness on the part of their officials, and of the tact and efficiency of Fred A. Olds, who did the work of finding and collecting this material.

In 1924 the Historical Commission employed D. L. Corbitt to list, describe, and calendar its collections. So rapidly had the collection of county records grown, and so constantly had it been in use, that it was deemed necessary to issue this report as the first step in describing the total collections.

Persons interested in records of the counties may, by reading this report, know with some degree of definiteness whether or not a trip to Raleigh will give them access to the material desired. There is listed in it only the material which is actually on the shelves of the Historical Commission, and which can be had for examination in the rooms of the Historical Commission upon application to the persons in charge, except when some of it may be temporarily withdrawn for repairs.

Researchers are welcomed to the rooms of the Historical Commission, and correspondence concerning this material is invited. However, the staff of the Historical Commission is too limited to permit it to engage in private researches, especially those pertaining to genealogy. Unless questions of this nature can be readily answered, it is the policy to refer them to competent persons in the city of Raleigh, who will arrange terms and prosecute the research independently.

R. B. HOUSE,
Secretary



COUNTIES IN BRIEF

The following is a list¹ of the counties in the State; the date of the formation of each; and the names of the county or counties from which each was formed. The list includes one hundred and four counties, but there are now only one hundred counties. Four were abolished and others made from them.

<i>County</i>	<i>Date of Formation</i>	<i>County from Which Formed</i>
Alamance	1849	Orange
Alexander	1847	Iredell, Caldwell, Wilkes
Alleghany	1859	Ashe
Anson	1749	Bladen
Ashe	1799	Wilkes
Avery	1911	Mitchell, Watauga, Caldwell
Beaufort	1765	Bath
Bertie	1722	Bath
Bladen	1734	Bath
Brunswick	1764	New Hanover, Bladen
Buncombe	1791	Burke, Rutherford
Burke	1777	Rowan
Bute ²	1764	Granville
Cabarrus	1792	Mecklenburg
Caldwell	1841	Burke, Wilkes
Camden	1777	Pasquotank
Carteret	1722	Bath
Caswell	1777	Orange
Catawba	1842	Lincoln
Chatham	1770	Orange
Cherokee	1839	Macon
Chowan	1672	Albemarle
Clay	1861	Cherokee
Cleveland	1841	Rutherford, Lincoln
Columbus	1803	Bladen, Brunswick
Craven	1712	Bath
Cumberland	1753	Bladen
Currituck	1672	Albemarle
Dare	1870	Currituck, Tyrrell, Hyde
Davidson	1822	Rowan
Davie	1826	Rowan
Dobbs ³ *	1758	Johnston
Duplin	1749	New Hanover
Durham	1881	Orange, Wake
Edgecombe	1735	Bertie

¹ Data taken from the North Carolina Manual 1913.

² Bute was abolished and Franklin and Warren were formed from it in 1779.

³ This date is given as "about 1712."

* Dobbs was abolished in 1791 and other counties formed from it.

* Taken from Wheeler's map of the formation of the counties.

<i>County</i>	<i>Date of Formation</i>	<i>County from Which Formed</i>
Forsyth	1849	Stokes
Franklin	1779	Bute
Gaston	1846	Lincoln
Gates	1778	Chowan, Perquimans, Hertford
Glasgow [‡]	1791	Dobbs
Graham	1872	Cherokee
Granville	1746	Edgecombe
Greene	1799	Glasgow
Guilford	1770	Rowan, Orange
Halifax	1758	Edgecombe
Harnett	1855	Cumberland
Haywood	1808	Buncombe
Henderson	1838	Buncombe
Hertford	1759	Chowan, Bertie, Northampton
Hoke	1911	Cumberland, Robeson
Hyde [*]	1705	Bath
Iredell	1788	Rowan
Jackson	1851	Haywood, Macon
Johnston	1746	Craven
Jones	1778	Craven
Lee	1907	Chatham, Moore
Lenoir	1791	Dobbs, Craven
Lincoln	1779	Tryon
Macon	1828	Haywood
Madison	1851	Buncombe, Yancey
Martin	1774	Halifax, Tyrrell
McDowell	1842	Rutherford, Burke
Mecklenburg	1762	Anson
Mitchell	1861	Yancey, Watauga, Caldwell, Burke, Mc- Dowell
Montgomery	1778	Anson
Moore	1784	Cumberland
Nash	1777	Edgecombe
New Hanover	1729	Bath
Northampton	1741	Bertie
Onslow	1734	Bath
Orange	1753	Granville, Johnston, Bladen
Pamlico	1872	Craven, Beaufort
Pasquotank	1672	Albemarle
Pender	1875	New Hanover
Perquimans	1672	Albemarle
Person	1791	Caswell
Pitt	1760	Beaufort
Polk	1855	Rutherford, Henderson
Randolph	1779	Guilford
Richmond	1779	Anson
Robeson	1786	Bladen
Rockingham	1785	Guilford
Rowan	1753	Anson
Rutherford	1779	Tryon, Burke
Sampson	1734	Duplin, New Hanover

^{*} Glasgow was abolished in 1799 and Greene was made from it.

^{*} Called Wickham until about 1712.

[†] Taken from Wheeler's map of the formation of the counties.

<i>County</i>	<i>Date of Formation</i>	<i>County from Which Formed</i>
Scotland	1899	Richmond
Stanly	1841	Montgomery
Stokes	1798	Surry
Surry	1770	Rowan
Swain	1871	Jackson, Macon
Transylvania	1861	Henderson, Jackson
Tryon [†]	1768	Mecklenburg
Tyrrell	1729	Albemarle
Union	1842	Anson, Mecklenburg
Vance	1881	Granville, Warren, Franklin
Wake	1770	Johnston, Cumberland, Orange
Warren	1779	Bute
Washington	1779	Tyrrell
Watauga	1849	Ashe, Wilkes, Caldwell, Yancey
Wayne	1779	Dobbs, Craven
Wilkes	1777	Surry, Burke
Wilson	1855	Edgecombe, Nash, Johnston, Wayne
Yadkin	1850	Surry
Yancey	1833	Burke, Buncombe

There are forty-one counties in the state from which there is no material available in the archives of the Historical Commission. Some of these counties have been so unfortunate as to lose by fire or during the Civil War all of their records, while some of them are so young as to have no records except those which are now in use in the county seat.

The following is the list of the counties from which there is material available. A fuller description of this material is given elsewhere in this report.

<i>County</i>	<i>County Seat</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>County Seat</i>
Ashe	Jefferson	Cumberland	Fayetteville
Beaufort	Washington	Currituck	Currituck Court-house
Bertie	Windsor		
Brunswick	Southport	Duplin	Kenansville
Buncombe	Asheville	Edgecombe	Tarboro
Burke	Morganton	Franklin	Louisburg
Bute	Buffaloe	Gates	Gatesville
	(abolished in 1773)	Granville	Oxford
		Halifax	Halifax
Cabarrus	Concord	Hertford	Winton
Camden	Camden Court-house	Hyde	Swan Quarter
		Jackson	Sylva
Carteret	Beaufort	Jones	Trenton
Caswell	Yanceyville	Lenoir	Kinston
Chatham	Pittsboro	Martin	Williamston
Chowan	Edenton	Mitchell	Bakersville
Columbus	Whiteville	Nash	Nashville

[†] Tryon was abolished 1799 and other counties made from it.

[‡] Taken from Wheeler's map of the formation of the counties.

<i>County</i>	<i>County Seat</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>County Seat</i>
New Hanover	Wilmington	Rockingham	Wentworth
Northampton	Jackson	Rowan	Salisbury
Onslow	Jacksonville	Rutherford	Rutherfordton
Orange	Hillsboro	Stokes	Danbury
Pasquotank	Elizabeth City	Tyrrell	Columbia
Perquimans	Hertford	Warren	Warrenton
Pitt	Greenville	Washington	Plymouth
Polk	Columbus	Wayne	Goldsboro
Richmond	Rockingham	Wilkes	Wilkesboro
Robeson	Lumberton	Yadkin	Yadkinville

The following is a list of the counties from which there is *no material* in the collections of the Historical Commission.

Alamance	Graham	Hoke	Raeford
Alexander	Taylorsville	Iredell	Statesville
Alleghany	Sparta	Lee	Sanford
Anson	Wadesboro	Lincoln	Lincolnton
Avery	Elk Park	Macon	Franklin
Bladen	Elizabethtown	Madison	Marshall
Caldwell	Lenoir	Montgomery	Troy
Catawba	Newton	Moore	Carthage
Cherokee	Murphy	Pamlico	Bayboro
Clay	Hayesville	Pender	Burgaw
Cleveland	Sheiby	Sampson	Clinton
Dare	Manteo	Scotland	Laurinburg
Davidson	Lexington	Stanly	Albemarle
Davie	Mocksville	Surry	Dobson
Durham	Durham	Swain	Bryson City
Forsyth	Winston-Salem	Transylvania	Brevard
Gaston	Dallas	Union	Monroe
Graham	Robbinsville	Vance	Henderson
Greene	Snow Hill	Watauga	Boone
Harnett	Lillington	Wilson	Wilson
Henderson	Hendersonville	Yancey	Burnsville

The marriage bonds from the following counties are open to the public for use in the rooms of the Historical Commission but there is no other material on these counties:

<i>County</i>	<i>County Seat</i>	<i>Number of Boxes</i>
Craven	New Bern	24
Guilford	Greensboro	26
Haywood	Waynesville	10
Johnston	Smithfield	21
McDowell	Marion	4
Mecklenburg	Charlotte	18
Person	Roxboro	10
Randolph	Ashboro	26
Wake	Raleigh	38

All of these marriage bonds are arranged alphabetically so as to eliminate useless searching as much as possible.

COUNTY RECORDS

ASHE COUNTY

Ashe County was formed from Wilkes in 1799. Was named in honor of Samuel Ashe, who was at one time Governor of North Carolina.

There is very little material on Ashe County. What material there is consists of one book of Records of Wardens for the poor, including the years from 1832 to 1855, and two volumes of County Court Minutes, the first of which dates from 1806 to 1821, and the second from 1821 to 1826. There are a few marriage bonds dating from 1828 to 1889.

The Court Minutes are more valuable than the Records of the Wardens for the poor. The Justices of the Peace who held the Quarter Sessions are listed for each term, as well as the regular and grand jurors. These books contain such material as the appointment of constables of the county; records of all deeds being acknowledged; records of summonses; records of court proceedings with some judgments; powers of attorney; inventories of estates; records of petitions and ex parte proceedings (division of land to heirs of a deceased person); and a few wills. It is quite evident that the books served in some cases the purposes of both the register of deeds (as they contain material belonging in the office of the register of deeds) and as a record for the courts. They contain all cases and records of deeds filed from 1806 to 1826.

The Wardens' Records give the names of the various wardens and the names of those to whom funds were paid, together with the amount. Some wardens were appointed to do one specific thing and no more, while others were to feed and clothe certain people, and still others were to have complete responsibility for persons assigned to their care, and in almost every case it was for a definite period.

The marriage bonds are arranged alphabetically.

BEAUFORT COUNTY

Beaufort County was formed from Bath in 1705, and was named for Henry Somerset, Duke of Beaufort.

There is not much material available on this county. One minute book dating from 1756 to 1761, one book of the list of taxables for the year 1784, a book of deeds for the years 1795-1807, and an abstract of wills form the entire lot.

The minute book contains such material as follows: Acknowledgments of deeds; acknowledgments of inventories; powers of attorney;

records of flesh marks and brands; acknowledgments of options; records of apprenticing minors; acknowledgments of deeds of gifts; granting licenses for attorneys; probations of wills; records of appointments of executors and administrators; acknowledgments of bills of sale of negroes; and acknowledgments of deeds of surrender.

The List of Taxables contains the names of the freeholders and the valuation of the listed property for the several districts, and then there is a recapitulation of the whole taxable property, which amounted to £211,713.10.1. (This amount was for year 1784.)

The deed book contains deeds, deeds of trust; and bills of sale for the years 1795-1807, which are copied from the originals.

There are no marriage bonds from Beaufort County.

BERTIE COUNTY

Bertie County was formed from Albemarle in 1722, being named for John and James Bertie, two of the Lords Proprietors, who together owned one-eighth of Carolina.

There is a fairly good collection of material from this county, which includes one Crown Docket, 16 volumes of Court Minutes, one volume of land entries, and the marriage bonds.

The Crown Docket dates from 1762 to 1775, and contains the record of cases, of which the following is an example:

16	The King vs. Thomas Pearce	Indictment for Contempt	Executed	Defendant appeared and submitted himself to the court. Fined £5
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From this docket it is found that in those days a great many cases were continued, and also that many defendants failed to appear.

The Court Minutes are contained in sixteen volumes, of various sizes. These records date from the year 1767 to 1868.

In the first volume of the County Court Minutes 1767 to 1772, there is a list of the Justices of the Peace, and the regular and grand jurors for each term of the Pleas and Quarter Sessions of Court. The book contains acknowledgments of deeds; appointments of overseers of roads; orders for apprenticing minors; orders for the Sheriffs to make returns of accounts; orders for auditing the accounts of deceased men; probations of wills; appointments of constables; powers of attorney; acknowledgments of bills of sales; orders for recording inventories of the estates of deceased persons; orders for appointments of guardians; orders for sale of property of orphans; security bonds; orders for men to work the roads, etc. There seem to be no records of court trials and decisions in this volume.

Volume two, 1772 to 1777, contains practically the same kind of material as described above. There are, however, one or two court trials recorded in this book, but there seems to be no judgments.

Volume three, 1778 to 1792, contains material of the same nature and, in addition, the establishment and recording of flesh marks, appointment of Sheriffs, etc. From this book the following was taken from the May Term 1780:

Ordered the tavern rates are as follows Viz. For a hot dinner of good provisions twelve dollars and a half. Breakfast of tea or coffee bread and butter six dollars. Supper of meat eight dollars, if coffee or tea six dollars, for a gill of good west India rum ten dollars, country brandy whiskey and toffy five dollars per gill for lodging and night two dollars for storage for horses for twenty-four hours four dollars corn twelve shillings per quart, fodder or hay sufficient for a bait for a horse twenty four shillings.

Other court records in the volume are: Order for Sheriff to mend the gaol; cases tried and judgments rendered; releasing a cripple from poll tax; the names of the districts of the Justices of the Peace to list the taxable property in each.

Volume four, 1793 to 1801, is a continuation of the preceding material. However, there is a record in this book of the court's appointing a County Surveyor, special commissioners to receive roads for public use, and others to make private examination of wives for the proper execution of deeds. In the last part of this volume is given the court cases and the number of the jury opposite each case.

The volume of 1803 is small and contains very little material. The material is of the same nature as that of the preceding volumes.

From 1803 to 1868 there are nine volumes which are dated as follows: 1803-1805, 1805-1807, 1808-1813, 1813-1818, 1818-1822, 1822-1832, 1832-1841, 1842-1853, 1853-1867, and 1868. All these volumes contain such material in general as that described. There are, however, records of various petitions such as petitions for dowers; petitions for partitions of land; petitions for year's provisions for widows; various security bonds given in full; orders given for funds to be paid for the building of bridges; orders for the register of deeds to be paid. (It appears from these books that the court by 1820 was exercising the function of the present day county commissioners and auditors.) The last volume contains the proceedings of May Term 1868.

The volume of County Court Minutes dated 1842-1843 contains the court proceedings from February Term 1842 to and including the February Term 1843. But in the back of this volume is a record of a bond issue dated January 1, 1872.

There was one series of bonds of \$20 denomination which numbered consecutively from 1 to 220; there was another series of \$100 denomination which ran consecutively from 1 to 130; and the coupons of all were due at different times between January 1, 1873, and Janu-

ary 1, 1832. These bonds bore six per cent interest and were issued under Act of _____. (The Act* was omitted). The names of the bondholders are listed.

There is also a book of land entries dating from May 13, 1778 to February 14, 1781, and it contains 275 entries.

The marriage bonds are arranged alphabetically.

BRUNSWICK COUNTY

Brunswick County was formed in 1764 from New Hanover and Bladen. Was named in honor of the famous House of Brunswick, of which the four Georges, Kings of England, were members.

There is a medium amount of material from this county. Some of the counties have a great deal more and some a great deal less. Of the total collection there are nine volumes of County Court Minutes; three volumes of wills; one volume of public school records, and one volume of Register of Officers' bonds, and the marriage bonds.

The County Court Minutes date as follows: 1782-1801, 1805-1820, 1820-1823, 1824-1830, 1831-1839, 1839-1845, 1845-1852, 1850-1859, and 1866-1868. The material is of the nature of the material in other counties, which is as follows: Acknowledgments of deeds and deeds of trust; appointments of commissioners for special duties such as to make navigable certain streams; appointments of patrols; acknowledgments of bills of sale; cases and disposition of them; acknowledgments of the returns of inventories; records of guardians returning their accounts; records of administrators' returns; lists of the Justices of the Peace and petit and grand juries; appointments of auditors to settle the accounts of deceased persons; records of granting licenses for retailing liquor; some wills; petitions for dowers, year's provisions, etc.; appointments of auctioneers; records of filing security bonds; appointments of overseers of roads; records of flesh marks; lists of land sold for taxes; and records of peace warrants.

There are three volumes of wills dating 1781 to 1822, 1822 to 1827, and 1829 to 1841. These books contain only the wills.

The volume of Public School Records dates from 1840 to 1860.

The volume of the Register of Officers' bonds dated from 1796 to 1829.

The marriage bonds are arranged alphabetically.

BURKE COUNTY

Burke County was formed in 1777 from Rowan. Was named in honor of Dr. Thomas Burke, a member of the Continental Congress and Governor of North Carolina.

* Have been unable to locate Act authorizing this bond issue.

There is little material from this county. Three volumes of County Court Minutes are on the shelves which date respectively 1807-1818, 1818-1829, 1830-1840. There is one case of original wills dating from 1794 to 1866, and also two boxes of Court Papers dating respectively 1782-1842 and 1783-1843. There are also some marriage bonds.

The County Court Minutes contain the same general material as in other Court Minutes of that time. The most numerous things recorded are the acknowledgments of deeds; lists of the Justices of the Peace, and petit and grand jurors; appointments of special commissions; road overseers; letters of administration; lists of justices to make lists of taxable property; acknowledgments of wills; appointments of guardians; the apprenticing of orphans; petitions of various kinds such as for dower, for roads, and for year's allowance; cases, judgments, and executions; and appointments of patrols. There are also records of several cases where the court ordered certain sums to be paid out of the public money for the scalps of wolves and panthers.

The case of wills is small and does not contain many papers. However, there are some that reach as far back as 1794. The latest are dated 1868.

The two cases of Court Papers are very interesting. They contain such material as letters, warrants, appearance bonds, appeal bonds, subpoenas, capiases, executions, ejectment proceedings, commissions of the Justices of the Peace for special trials, summons to take depositions, depositions, surveyors' reports, and a copy of the National Intelligencer-Extra, which contains the special message of President John Tyler which was delivered to a joint session of Congress June 1, 1841.

There is one box of marriage bonds.

BUNCOMBE COUNTY

Buncombe County was formed in 1791 from Burke and Rutherford. Was named in honor of Colonel Edward Buncombe, a Revolutionary soldier.

There are three volumes available from this county. There is a Trial Docket dated 1796-1805, a volume of County Court Minutes dated 1822-1824, and a volume of marriage records dated 1831-1870.

In the Trial Docket is such material as follows:

9	William Galloway vs. John Odel	2 case 2	The defendant came in court acknowledged the service of writ	War. required Gen issue jury charged non suit
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There were no other records kept in this volume.

The volume of County Court Minutes dating from January 1822 to October 1824 contains such material as the lists of the Justices of the Peace, and the petit and grand jurors for each term of the court

of Pleas and Quarter Sessions. And in addition there are records of granting letters of administration; records of Deputy Sheriffs giving bond; appointment of Commissioners to lay off year's allotment for support; records of cases and disposition of them; records of binding out orphans; granting licenses for retailing liquor; records of *ex parte* proceedings (petition and the granting of the petition to divide the land of a deceased person among his heirs); decrees allowing specified prices for daily board; and itemized inventories of estates of deceased persons.

The volume of Marriage Records dates from 1851 to 1870. In the first part of the book is the complete certificate of the marriage, which is known as a marriage bond, except that this is a copy, but in the last part are mere statements that certain persons were legally married, giving the date and the name of the minister or magistrate.

There are no marriage bonds of Buncombe County.

BUTE COUNTY

Bute County was formed in 1764, from Granville. Was named in honor of John Stuart, Earl of Bute, one of the principal Secretaries of State, and also First Lord of the Treasury under King George III. Because of the unpopularity of the Earl, the General Assembly in 1778 passed an act which wipe Bute County from the map, and Warren and Franklin counties were erected from its territory.

The duration of this county was short, and in consequence there could not have been a great deal of material from it. And as it is, all the original material is not available. There is one volume of County Court Minutes dating from 1767 to 1776; one case and part of another case of County Court papers dating from 1765 to 1779; one case of original wills dating from 1764 to 1779; two cases of inventories of estates dating from 1764 to 1779; and one book of land entries.

The County Court Minutes dating from 1767 to 1776 contain such material as the acknowledgment of deeds and bills of sale; probation of wills; appointments of overseers of roads; lists of the Justice of the Peace, and the lists of the petit and grand juries for each term of Pleas and Quarter Sessions of Court; various kinds of petitions; special orders for the erection of bridges; various kinds of bonds proved in court; records of guardians being appointed; and records of apprenticing orphans. On page 181 of this volume is listed the price of liquors and various kinds of drinks, and board and lodging as passed on by the court. On page 191 is a record of the court's not recognizing the authority of the Royal Governor, William Tryon.

In the case of Court Papers is such material as officers' bonds; contracts; records of apprenticing orphans; demand and promisory notes; deeds of gifts; notices of appeal; agreements for the division of negroes

of deceased persons; guardians' bonds and administrators' bonds; petitions for relief from paying taxes and from public service; bills of sale and inventories of estates; royal commissions for the office of sheriff, etc. There is also a list of taxables for Bute County dated 1771 as well as a copy of land entries, which is dated 1778-1779 and contains 380 records of land. Also at the front and back of this book is a page giving a list of articles at the naval office at New Bern, N. C. These pages are torn, but some of each is legible.

The case of wills dates from 1765 to 1779, and contains the original wills.

The two cases of inventories include materials between the years 1764 and 1779. There are inventories of estates of deceased men made by administrators before disposition of property. There are also accounts of the sale of property, and bills of goods purchased. In one case there is a list of vouchers paid out of the public funds for the year 1760.

There are 89 marriage bonds.

CABARRUS COUNTY

Cabarrus County was formed in 1792 from Mecklenburg. Was formed in honor of Stephen Cabarrus, of Edenton, several times a member of the Legislature and often Speaker of the House of Commons.

There is only one volume of County Court Minutes from this county and it is dated from 1793 to 1797. On the first page of this volume is the following:

State of North Carolina—

The minutes and proceedings of the county court begun and held in the county of Cabarrus agreeable to an Act of Assembly of the State of North Carolina made for the purpose of dividing the county of Mecklenburg and erecting a separate and distinct county by the name of Cabarrus at the house of Robert Russels the third Monday of January in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety three and in the seventeenth of our Independence.

The material usually recorded in court minutes is included in this book. There are acknowledgments of deeds, powers of attorney, appointments of various kinds, lists of jurors, and Justices of the Peace; bills of sale and several petitions recorded. There are a few records of marks and brands.

There are 22 boxes of marriage bonds which are arranged alphabetically.

CAMDEN COUNTY

Camden County was formed in 1777 from Pasquotank. Was named in honor of the learned Englishman, Charles Pratt, who was Earl of Camden, and one of the strongest friends of the Americans in the British Parliament.

The material from this county is very scanty, there being only two volumes, one of which is County Court Minutes, and the other Orphans' Accounts. There are no marriage bonds.

The County Court Minutes date from 1855 to 1868 and contain such material as acknowledgments of deeds, bills of sale, etc.; lists of the Justices of the Peace and jurors for each term of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions; records of the appointments of guardians and their qualifying by giving bond; various petitions; orders for special audits of estate; letters of administration; special orders for road overseers and patrols; and the probation of wills. The records in this book are in excellent condition, and were exceedingly well recorded.

The first part of the Orphans' Account Book is pasted up with other material which is very valuable. The accounts of the orphans date from 1803 to 1809. The accounts are records of the expenditure of money (and for what purpose) of the orphans of Camden County.

The papers pasted in the front of the book pertain to several matters. There are notices sent out by the Secretary of State to the clerks of the counties informing them of the laws passed by the General Assembly; commissions from the Governor appointing Justices of the Peace; military circulars and orders; various lists of taxables and tax returns for both real and personal property and privilege taxes; letters and articles from State officials, some of which interpret the laws for the benefit of county officers. There are also military pamphlets pasted in this volume.

There are no marriage bonds from this county, but there is recorded in the book of orphans' accounts the act passed by the General Assembly requiring the county officers to keep a record of all persons married as well as a record of their parents.

CARTERET COUNTY

Carteret County was formed in 1722 from Bath. Was named in honor of Sir John Carteret, afterwards (1744) Earl Granville, one of the Lords Proprietors.

There is a great deal of material on Carteret, and some of it is very old, going back as far as 1717. There are grant books, deed books, County Court Dockets, County Court Minutes, lists of taxables, marriage bonds, and miscellaneous records, as well as abstract of wills to 1800.

There are more than 25 volumes of County Court Minutes, including many pamphlets dating from 1724 to 1868. The volume, or rather the cover of the volume, dated 1724, has only one page, and that is badly torn. The next volume according to date is of the nature of a pamphlet. It is dated 1764-1767, and contains the material generally found in court minutes of that time. The next volume is dated 1771-1775, and

the others as follows: 1775-1781, 1781-1782, 1783-1785, 1793-1796, 1796-1799, 1799-1804, 1804-1813, 1813-1820, 1821-1830, 1824-1826 (there are several pamphlets between these dates); 1826-1827, 1831-1837, 1837-1845, 1840-1841, 1842-1845, 1845-1848, 1849-1852, 1853-1858, 1858-1868. There is no record in this volume for the year 1863. Some of these volumes contain some very interesting material. In the back of the volume dated 1804-1813 is a list of the jurors, the number of miles each traveled to reach court, and the amount paid for his services. The list contains the jurors for the years 1807-1812. In the back of the volume dated 1813-1820 is a list of the names of persons granted licenses to retail small quantities of liquors. These licenses were granted at the terms of court held in the years 1817-1821. In the same book is a drawing or map of land which was divided among the heirs of Gabriel Holmes. In the volume dated 1821-1830 there is also a list of the persons to whom licenses were granted to sell liquors in small quantities. There is also in this book the list of property sold for taxes and the amount of the taxes. In the back of the volume dated 1831-1837 is a list of the Justices of the Peace who were commissioned and who qualified, and also receipts signed by the Justices of the Peace who received a copy of the revised statutes of North Carolina.

In the volume dated 1858-1868, on page 2, is a record of a suit growing out of a controversy between the Justices of the Peace of Carteret County and the Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad for \$50,000 worth of stock. The agreement between these parties is recorded, which included an order for \$50,000 worth of bonds to be issued with which to purchase the stock. Also there is between pages 211-212 a proclamation issued to the people of North Carolina by William W. Holden, Provisional Governor, informing the people of his appointment, and giving his purpose and plan of reorganization of the government, and beseeching the people who are or were loyal to support him. Between pages 215-216 is pasted another proclamation of William W. Holden, Provisional Governor, giving the number of people to be elected from each county to represent it in the State Convention. Also there is the list of the 14 classes forbidden to take the oath of amnesty.

Besides the special things mentioned, there is such material as acknowledgments of deeds and bills of sale; appointments of road overseers; lists of the Justices of the Peace and the petit and grand jurors; various kinds of petitions, such as petitions for partitions of land, for year's provisions, for dowers, for the sale of real and personal property to create assets to pay indebtedness; probations of wills; various court cases and their disposition; rate of taxes; lists of land sold for taxes both for the county and town.

Among the pamphlets of County Court Minutes in the case dated 1764-1782 is a copy of a docket dating from 1741 to 1856. It contains the case referred to or appealed to the Superior Court.

Among the pamphlets of the County Court Minutes in the case dated 1724-1796 is a pamphlet of deeds dating from 1749 to 1752.

In a case labeled, "Carteret County Court Docket, 1731-1784," are eleven pamphlets, which contain appearance and reference cases, reference petitions, and execution dockets. An example of the material is as follows:

APPEARANCE DOCKET TO DECEMBER COURT 1785

17	David Cooper vs. Wm. Smith	case	executed and agreed	dismissed, clerk's fee paid
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There is a grant book dating 1717 to 1724, and two deed books dating 1752-1759 and 1765-1775. These books are the originals.

Among the pamphlets and copies in the case labeled "Deeds 1721-1783" is a copy of Court Minutes dating 1841-1842; a copy of the records of deeds, but not the deeds as labeled on the cover. This book is dated 1745-1756. There is a large volume of deeds dated 1757-1766 and a small pamphlet dated 1721-1723, containing deeds which were given for land sold under authority of an Act passed by the Assembly which gave power to sell land upon which the quit rents had not been paid. There is also in this case a list of taxables for the year 1784. The book gives the names of the people, the number of acres, the district, the white and black polls, and the total taxes due or paid, and at the end there is a grand total of all taxes.

There are also three volumes of taxables which include the years from 1802 to 1819. From these three volumes can easily be ascertained the number of polls for each year, taxable property, etc. They are in good condition.

There is a case containing a little miscellaneous material such as security bonds, inventories of estates, one will loose, and a book of wills and bonds, and one copy of powers of attorney. These books are in poor condition.

There are seventeen cases of marriage bonds, which are arranged alphabetically.

CASWELL COUNTY

Caswell County was formed in 1777 from Orange. Was named in honor of Richard Caswell, member of the First Continental Congress, first Governor of North Carolina after the Declaration of Independence, six times reelected Governor, and Major-General in the Revolutionary Army.

There are County Court Minutes, marriage bonds, lists of taxables, inventories of estates, wills, and land entries.

It is an exceptional thing that the first volume of County Court Minutes has been preserved, and is in splendid condition. The first

session of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions was held in June 1777. This volume includes the proceedings from 1777 to 1781. The other volumes are dated as follows: 1781-1788, 1788-1794, 1794-1801, 1801-1809, 1809-1813, 1814-1819, 1819-1823, 1823-1831, 1835-1839, 1839-1842. These volumes contain material ordinarily found in such records.

There are also several books of various sizes of County Court Minutes in a box with lists of taxables. These records are small pamphlet-like volumes, or are parts of larger books which have come apart. These books or pamphlets are dated as follows: 1822, 1843-1843, 1843, 1834, 1844.

The box of wills is dated from 1777 to 1800 and they are arranged alphabetically.

There are several volumes of lists of taxables, which are dated, and include the following dates: 1781, 1787, 1788, 1791, 1792, 1797, 1798, 1803, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806.

These lists give the names, the number of acres, the number of polls, both white and black, and the assessed valuation of the property. At the end of each year is a recapitulation of the entire list.

There are two boxes labeled "Inventories of Estates," and they are dated 1777 to 1800. These boxes should be labeled "Miscellaneous Court Papers," for they include powers of attorney, deeds of gift, bills of sale, election returns, witness tickets, guardians' returns, and bonds, as well as inventories of estates.

There is one volume of land entries, which is dated 1788 to 1863. These records give the name of the person, the number of acres, the date, and a meager designation of the location of the land.

There are 23 boxes of marriage bonds, which are arranged alphabetically.

CHATHAM COUNTY

Chatham County was formed in 1770 from Orange. Was named in honor of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, who was the most eloquent English defender of the American cause during the Revolution.

The material on this county consists mostly of County Court Minutes, but there are several copies of inventories of estates and wills. There are no marriage bonds. There is also one copy of Minutes Docket of the Court of Equity.

The Court Minutes begin at the year 1774 and run to 1861. However, there are some copies missing. The first volume is dated 1774-1779, and the others as follows: 1781-1785, 1790-1794, 1794-1799, 1799-1800, 1811-1816, 1816-1822, 1822-1827, 1828-1833, 1834-1841, 1842-1849, 1849-1858, and 1860-1861. These volumes contain the general material found in the average Court Minutes of the period. There were kept the names of the Justices of the Peace and the petit and grand jurors for each term of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions;

acknowledgments of deeds, bills of sale; appointments of road overseers; appointments of guardians, and records of letters of administrators, various court cases and the disposition of them; apprenticing of orphans; lists of property sold for taxes and the amount of taxes due on each; in some volumes are found the rates of taxes levied for the year, and records of various bonds and petitions.

There is a copy of the Minute Docket of the Court of Equity, dated 1821-1839. This book contains many cases in dispute in equity. The details of the complaints and the answers are not given, but the decrees are given.

There are six will books, dated respectively, 1793, 1794-1798, 1798-1819, 1798-1834, 1817-1857, 1784-1794, the last of which contains some deeds and inventories of estates.

Besides the volume dated 1784-1794, in which there are some inventories of estates, there are two large volumes of inventories of estates dated 1801-1812 and 1809-1822. These volumes are in excellent condition, and the inventories were very well recorded.

The marriage bonds have been lost.

CHOWAN COUNTY

Chowan County was formed in 1672 from Albemarle. Was named for an Indian tribe in the northeastern part of the State when the English first came to North Carolina.

There is a fairly good collection of material from this county, yet there are not the County Court Minutes as of some counties, especially Carteret. There are County Papers, deeds, lists of taxables, and marriage bonds.

The County Court Minutes begin at 1704 and run to 1798, but even between these dates the minutes for some years are missing. Some of the minutes books have come to pieces and have to be kept in cases. They are, therefore, not arranged chronologically, but they have the records of the period of development and procedure recorded. The things recorded are lists of Justices of the Peace and jurors for the sessions of court; acknowledgments of deeds; bills of sale, etc.; commissions of appointment of various kinds; orders by men of high authority to petit officers; acknowledgments of letters of administration and records of bonds being given; and the records of cases. Most of these minutes are in the pamphlet style of book. The books dated from 1780 to 1798 are the regular size minute books.

There are several lists of taxables which date from 1706 to 1798. Some of these lists give the names and the amount, while others give the valuation, etc.

There are also several deed books, but they are in such condition as to have to be put in cases. They date from 1699 to 1760.

There is a case labeled "Procession Docket" and "County Court Papers." The Court Papers consist of various material such as subpoenas, court orders, etc. The Dockets are records of cases in the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions.

In addition to that material there are 19 volumes of County Papers, bound, 17 of which date from 1685 to 1805. They contain a great variety of papers such as grants, deeds, indentures of apprenticing, various bonds, petitions, appointments, subpoenas, capias, etc.

There are 10 boxes of marriage bonds arranged alphabetically.

COLUMBUS COUNTY

Columbus County was formed in 1808 from Bladen and Brunswick. Was named in honor of the Discoverer of the New World.

The material from this county is so small as to amount to almost nothing. As a matter of fact, there is only one volume available, and it dates from 1838 to 1846. This is a volume of County Court Minutes and it contains the material usually recorded in Court Minutes of that period of our history. There are lists of Justices of the Peace, and jurors for the different sessions of court; acknowledgments of deeds and bills of sale, etc.; letters of administration, appointments of various kinds; licenses to sell liquors in small quantities, petitions of different kinds; records of many kinds of bonds being recorded, and a few cases and the disposition of them.

No marriage bonds or other kinds of material have been obtained.

CUMBERLAND COUNTY

Cumberland County was formed in 1754 from Bladen. Was named in honor of William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, second son of King George II. Cumberland was the commander of the English army at the battle of Culloden, in which the Scotch Highlanders were so badly defeated. Many of them came to America, and their principal settlement was at Cross Creek in Cumberland County.

There is quite a bit of material from this county, but the major part consists of County Court Minutes. There are 32 volumes of them, dating from 1784 to 1865. There are also two volumes of County Road Dockets and one volume of tax lists, and one case of loose material on the Town of Fayetteville, besides 19 boxes of marriage bonds.

The County Court Minutes do not contain any unusual material. They consist of the materials ordinarily found in records of those periods which give the progress and achievement of the county and the County Court. There is such material as lists of the Justices of the Peace and petit and grand jurors; acknowledgments of legal papers such as deeds, bills of sale, letters of administration, apprenticing of orphans, appointments of various kinds, reports of officers' lists of property sold

for taxes, and property advertised to be sold at different years. There are a few deeds recorded in some of these books and oaths of naturalization.

This is the first county of which notice has been taken of the fact that it kept a special court minute book for the appointment of road overseers, their laborers, and their reports. There are two volumes of these books, dating from 1825 to 1855, and they contain the various appointments, etc. pertaining to Cumberland County.

There is also one volume of the lists of taxables, dating 1777-8-9-80. This volume also contains the lists of men who had not taken the oath of allegiance.

There is a volume of Equity Minute Docket, dating from 1788 to 1829. This book consists of various cases in equity and the settlement of them.

There are 19 cases of marriage bonds arranged alphabetically.

By far the most interesting material on this county or on any part of it, is that labeled "Fayetteville Papers," which date from 1820 to 1870. This case contains material of many kinds, such as petitions for the organization of a company to supply water to the town, reports for health protection by a committee appointed to investigate and suggest methods of prevention of diseases; estimates of losses by fire; various kinds of paper money; reports of receipts and disbursements for the maintenance of the town government; a copy of the *Raleigh Register* for the year 1823, which contains an almanac and lists of the county court clerks and sheriffs for the counties of the State. There are also official letters included in the material.

In the County Court Minutes, dated October 1787 to February 1791, on the last page of the book is an oath of allegiance to the United States and a denouncement of allegiance to George III.

There are five volumes of County Court Minutes which are dated as follows: 1755-1759, 1759-1765, 1772-1776, 1777-1778, 1778-1780. These books contain the material ordinarily found in the court minutes.

CURRITUCK COUNTY

Currituck County was formed in 1672 from Albemarle. It was named after an Indian tribe.

All the material available from this county is County Court Minutes and marriage bonds. There is one case of marriage bonds and four volumes of County Court Minutes.

The four volumes of County Court Minutes date somewhat as follows: Three volumes date from 1799 to 1830, and then there is a break until 1851, after which they run to 1868. The material is of the usual kind recorded in Court Minutes. It is true there are a few deeds recorded

in the last volume, but there are only a few. There are court cases recorded and Justices of the Peace and jurors at the many terms of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions. There are acknowledgments of deeds, bills of sale, petitions of various kinds, such as for a year's provisions, for dowers, petitions to sell negroes, petitions for partitions of land, the probations of wills, etc. Three of the four books are in such bad shape as to have to be kept in cases for proper preservation.

There are about 100 marriage bonds.

DUPLIN COUNTY

Duplin County was formed in 1749 from New Hanover. Was named in honor of George Henry Hay, Lord Duplin, an English nobleman.

There is no variety of material on this county. In fact, there are only 11 cases of marriage bonds and 16 volumes of County Court Minutes.

The County Court Minutes date from 1784 to 1852, but some between these dates are missing. They date as follows: 1784-1791, 1793-1799, 1801-1802, 1802-1804, 1804-1810, 1810-1816, 1817-1819, 1819-1822, 1823-1828, 1832-1834, 1837-1838, 1840-1843, 1843-1845, 1845-1846, 1851-1852. They contain the materials ordinarily kept in such records, i.e. the lists of the Justices of the Peace, and the jurors, petitions of many kinds, appointments of every kind, court cases and the disposition of them, acknowledgments of deeds and the probaton of wills, etc.

The marriage bonds are arranged alphabetically, and there are 11 boxes.

EDGECOMBE COUNTY

Edgewcombe County was formed in 1735 from Bertie. Was named for Richard Edgewcombe, who became Baron Edgewcombe and was a lord of the English treasury.

The variety of material on this county is not so great, but it is better than that of some other counties. There are County Court Minutes, inventories and sales of estates, Negro Cohabitation bonds, and marriage bonds. Some of the material is well preserved, while some of it is in bad condition.

The County Court Minutes are by far the greatest in number, there being 24 volumes, which date from 1757 to 1863. The first volume, dating 1757-1764, contains records of courts held at Tarboro and Enfield. After that date, however, all courts were held at Tarboro. The records contain such things as the acknowledgments of deeds; probations of wills; powers of attorney; appointments of road overseers; various court cases; appointments of Justices to take the lists of taxables; the names of the Justices and the jurors that sat at the different terms of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions; various

orders for people to build or repair bridges, open new roads, and for the county trustee to pay the bills when the work was accepted by the court; apprenticing of children; appointments of guardians, etc. These minutes date as follows: 1757-1764, 1764-1772, 1772-1776, 1778-1784, 1784-1790, 1790-1792, 1792-1794, 1795-1797, 1797-1800, 1800-1804, 1804-1807, 1807-1811, 1811-1813, 1813-1816, 1816-1819, 1819-1820, 1820-1826, 1826-1832, 1833-1840, 1840-1844, 1844-1848, 1848-1852, 1853-1857, 1857-1863, 1863.

There are 6 volumes of inventories of estates which date as follows: 1735-1753, 1764-1772, 1783-1788, 1788-1790, 1790-1792, 1792-1794, 1798-1800. These volumes have an index at the back of each book which facilitates the finding of any particular item. The inventories are recorded in various styles, and of various items such as inventories of goods sold, while some are records of the deceased person's estate.

There is one docket of executions which begins with the May Term 1769, and ends with the February Term 1772. In this docket there is very little stated about the cases.

There is one Crown Docket which begins with the May Term of Court 1755, and ends with the March Term 1762. This docket is much on the order of the execution docket, the records being made in practically the same manner.

There is a docket or record of marks and brands which dates from August 1732 to May 1809. This record was kept very uniformly, giving the mark and brand, when the person had a brand, and the name opposite, with the date of recording it above.

There is a volume of the minutes of the Commissioners of Tarboro dating from September 20, 1760, to July 26, 1793. They consist of appointments, orders of many kinds, petitions, etc.

There is one box which contains Edgecombe County Negro Cohabitation records for the years 1866-1867. Some of these records not only tell the number of years certain parties have cohabited, but also the number of children they have.

There are 19 boxes of marriage bonds, which are arranged alphabetically.

FRANKLIN COUNTY

Franklin County was formed in 1779 from Bute. Was named in honor of Benjamin Franklin.

There is a fairly good collection of material from this county. There are 18 volumes of County Court Minutes, one volume of deeds, two volumes of lists of taxables, and one case with original wills, inventories of estates, lists of taxables, and a few papers of wardens' reports; and eleven boxes of marriage bonds.

The County Court Minutes date from 1785 to 1863, of which the different volumes date as follows: 1785-1794, 1794-1800, 1800-1805,

1803-1810, 1810-1813, 1814-1817, 1818-1820, 1819-1821, 1820-1823, 1820-1824, 1822-1824, 1825-1827, 1828-1830, 1831-1836, 1836-1840, 1840-1844, 1844-1847, 1847-1853. There seems to be nothing out of the ordinary recorded in these papers, which contain such things as the lists of the Justices of the Peace and jurors at each term of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions; acknowledgments of deeds; probations of wills; appointments of road overseers; acknowledgments and granting letters of administration; records of apprenticing children; court cases and in some instances the disposition of them.

The two volumes of the lists of taxables date from 1804 to 1836. They contain the lists of taxables for the different districts, after which there is a recapitulation of the entire tax for the county for each year. Because of the arrangement of the records, it is easy to compare the taxes and valuation of the property for the different years, which seem to rise one year and fall the next or the following years.

The volume of deeds dates from 1797 to 1799. In the back of the book is an index by which one can easily find the deed wanted.

There are 17 papers of orphans accounts, dating between 1794 and 1795, in a case labeled "Wills, Inventories, Lists of Taxables." In the same case there is a list of inventories of estates for the year 1795. There are also a few original wills dating between 1794 and 1795. And in addition to these, there are a few lists of taxables for the year 1798.

There are 11 boxes of marriage bonds which are arranged alphabetically.

GATES COUNTY

Gates County was formed in 1778 from Chowan, Perquimans, and Hertford. Was named in honor of General Horatio Gates, who commanded the American army at the battle of Saratoga.

Almost all the material from this county consists of County Court Minutes. There are three large volumes of these and several copies of small pamphlet-like volumes. There are also two reference dockets, and one case of court papers, besides six boxes of marriage bonds.

The County Court Minutes date from 1779 to 1868, with the cases containing the pamphlet-like volumes dating as follows: 1779-1796, 1796-1815, 1815-1830, 1830-1858, and the three large volumes are as follows: 1835-1841, 1851-1854, in the back of this volume is the probate of deeds, mortgages, and chattels which date 1878-1882, 1859-1868. These books contain the records ordinarily made in Court Minutes of those times. There are the lists of the Justices of the Peace, and the jurors for each term of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions; probate of wills (in the volume dated 1833-1841, in the last part of the book, is the will of Abraham W. Parker); acknowledgments

of deeds; appointments of various kinds; many kinds of court orders, such as the closing of roads and the opening of new ones, the building of new bridges, etc.; many court cases; in the decade of 1860-70 there were orders to pay certain persons for the care of soldiers, and for the support of infirm persons, and for provisions supplied to soldiers; there is one commission from Governor Martin appointing a Justice of the Peace; records of granting licenses to people to retail liquor. There is also a report of the Sheriff for the special taxes or privileges licenses granted in the county, including the mention of stage players and rope dancers. After 1840 there were records of the amount of money spent for common school purposes, and many other things of like nature.

It seems that the volume dating 1851-1854 was discarded for a time before all of it was used, then later used to record the probation and acknowledgment of deeds, mortgages, and chattels for the years between 1878 and 1882.

There is one case containing two dockets of trials and references. These dockets include the years between 1784 and 1786.

There is also one case containing court papers, which consist of bonds of various kinds, such as bonds for the appearance to court of certain parties, and bonds for the faithful performance of the duties by officers.

There are six boxes of marriage bonds, which are arranged alphabetically.

There is one volume of Public School Records, which is dated 1841-1861. This book contains the records of the schools in Gates County, and there are several returns for the election of committeemen, which are included on loose paper.

There is one box of inventories of estates, which is dated 1779 to 1800.

There are two boxes of wills, which are arranged alphabetically. There are no dates on these boxes, but of course the wills are dated. These wills have been abstracted.

There is one volume of the list of taxes for 1784-1806. The names are arranged alphabetically for the different years and for the districts.

There is one volume of the Records of Marriages, of which the dates range from 1851 to 1866.

There is one volume which is a record of the proceedings of the Commissioners of the town of Gatesville in 1833, also of the registration of slaves to work in the Great Dismal Swamp from 1847 to 1861 (as provided by the Legislature at the Session of 1846-47). There are also a few loose court papers in the volume, which are certificates of employment, etc.

GRANVILLE COUNTY

Granville County was formed in 1746 from Edgecombe. Was named in honor of John Carteret, Earl Granville, who owned the Granville District. He was Prime Minister under King George II, and a very brilliant man.

There are several volumes of County Court Minutes, one Trial Docket, two volumes of the Lists of Taxables, one volume of land entries, and one volume of Execution Docket. Thus it is quite evident that there is not much material available from this county.

The County Court Minutes date from 1786-1789, 1796-1799, 1800-1802, 1803-1806, 1806-1810, 1810-1813, 1813-1816, 1816-1818, 1818-1820. They contain lists of the Justices of the Peace and the jurors for each term of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions; acknowledgments of deeds; probation of wills; appointments of road overseers, etc.; many court cases and the disposition of them; court orders for the erection of bridges, and for the county trustee to pay the bill when the work was completed.

The two volumes of the Lists of Taxables contain the names of the persons, the valuation of property, and the number polls. These volumes date 1796-1802 and 1803-1809. At the end of the lists for the year is a recapitulation for the entire year.

The volume of land entries is dated 1778-1785.

The trial docket dates 1764-1776, and is in the same order as the execution docket.

The Execution Docket is dated 1765-1767.

There are no marriage bonds from this county.

HALIFAX COUNTY

Halifax County was formed in 1758 from Edgecombe. Was named in honor of George Montague Dunk, Earl of Halifax, president of the Board of Trade, which had control of the colonies before the Revolution.

There is by far a greater variety of material from this county than from the majority of them, but there are fewer County Court Minutes from this county than from the majority. But the variety makes the material much more interesting. There are County Court Minutes, marriage bonds, wills, deeds, county tax book, deeds of Edgecombe Precinct and county, Bertie Precinct and Halifax, county trustee records, inventories of estates, school records, and Superior Court District records.

The County Court Minutes do not run to completion according to date, as there are missing copies. There are only four copies, which are dated as follows: 1784-1787, 1796-1799, 1799-1802, and 1822-1824. They contain the lists of the Justices of the Peace and the jurors for the different terms of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions: acknowledgments of deeds; probation of wills; appointment of overseers of roads; orders to audit and settle estates; acknowledgment of deeds; probation of wills; appointments of overseers of roads; acknowledgment of powers of attorney; orders for the payment of sums for the

repairing of bridges, etc.; and various other things of like nature.

There is one volume of Superior Court records, dated 1783-1789, which is the records of the Superior Court of Equity. In this book is recorded the full complaints and the answers as filed, and in some cases the decision of the court or the disposition made of the cases. There are a few records of the Court of Equity of some other counties, but this book has the fullest account of the proceedings of any noticed. There is another volume labeled "Minute Docket from 1797 to 1805," which is the record of the Court of Equity of Halifax District, and contains similar material as the one above.

There is a volume of the County Trustee's records, which is dated 1826-1851. This is the first book of that nature observed, and is a very good book because of the fact that the material that it contains is rarely had or known. It contains the number, payee, and the amount of the vouchers paid out by the Trustee. At the end of the year's business is a balance of money from receipts and expenditures. It seems from these recapitulations that the County Trustee was compensated for his services by a fee of six per cent on disbursements. The Finance Committee audited the report of the County Trustee each year.

There is one copy of Halifax Trial Docket, which is dated 1766-1770, and contains only the names of the plaintiffs and the defendants, and in some cases the decisions of the court.

There is one volume of the Halifax Tax Book, which dates 1784-1834. It contains the names of the persons, the number of acres of land, the number of both white and black polls, the number of carriages, wheels of pleasure, the public tax, the county tax, and the parish tax. After the list of the above-mentioned things for the different districts for the year, there is a recapitulation of the districts of the many items taxed and the taxes collected. There is a case with lists of taxables in it, but these lists are summarized in the regular tax book dated 1784-1830. In the same book are inventories of estates, apprenticing of children, orders to take depositions, and depositions, an affidavit of denouncement of allegiance to kings, princes, or potentates, affidavits for the continuance of court cases, lists of insolvent debts, a proclamation of Governor Richard Caswell, and a book of race courses.

There is one volume of inventories of estates, dated 1773-1779. This book is in bad shape, but contains valuable material about the size of estates of deceased people.

There are three volumes of deeds, one of which contains original deeds. These books include deeds from 1755 to 1781. In addition to these books there are three boxes of original deeds.

There are also two boxes of wills which are arranged alphabetically.

There is one box of negro marriage bonds, which corresponds to the negro cohabitation bonds. These bonds are for the years 1866-1867.

There are 15 boxes of white marriage bonds, which are arranged alphabetically.

There is one volume of deeds, which is dated 1796 to 1802. This is by far the largest of any volume obtained from the counties. It has only the deeds recorded, but has been well kept and contains a great number of deeds.

HERTFORD COUNTY

Hertford County was formed in 1759 from Chowan, Bertie, and Northampton. Was named in honor of Francis Seymour Conway, Marquis of Hertford, an English nobleman. He was a brother of General Conway, a distinguished British soldier and member of Parliament, who favored the repeal of the Stamp Act. The word "Hertford" is said to mean "Red Ford."

The only material from this county is a list of taxables for the year 1782. This list contains the names of the persons taxes, the number of acres of land of each man, the amount of stock, the number of negroes and their ages, etc., and at the end there is a total of the entire property, which amounted to \$202,884, and also 34 carriage wheels.

HYDE COUNTY

Hyde County was formed in 1705 from Bath. Was called Wickham until about 1712. It was named in honor of Governor Edward Hyde, of North Carolina, a grandson of the Earl of Clarendon. The Earl was one of the Lords Proprietors. Governor Hyde was a first cousin of Queen Anne.

The material from this county is in bad condition and there is very little of it. There are several copies of pamphlet-like volumes of County Court Minutes, one pamphlet-like volume of wills and inventories of estates, and one volume of land entries.

The County Court Minutes are in a worse condition than the others. Among these books is one dated about 1750, and which contains forms of oaths of various kinds, such as the oath of a creditor to be administered by a magistrate, the clerk's oath, grand and petit jurors' oaths, administrators' oaths, Quakers' affirmation, oaths for return of inventories of estate, marriage bonds and marriage licenses. The County Court Minutes are dated 1785 to 1797 in one box, and in the other box 1804 to 1828. They do not contain any unusual material, there being such things as lists of the Justices of the Peace and jurors; acknowledgments of deeds; court orders for the sale of negroes; petitions of different kinds; a few court cases, acknowledgments of bills of sale, and material of like nature.

The book of land entries is dated 1778-1795, and contains several hundred entries for land. This book gives the names, the number of acres of land listed, and the date.

There is a small pamphlet-like volume dated 1781-1785, which contains wills and inventories of estates.

There are no marriage bonds from this county.

JACKSON COUNTY

Jackson County was formed in 1851 from Haywood and Macon. Was named in honor of Andrew Jackson, who was born in Mecklenburg County (the site of his birthplace is now in Union) and who won the brilliant victory over the British at New Orleans in 1815, and was twice elected President of the United States.

There is very little material from this county, since it is such a young county. There is one volume of County Court Minutes, and one volume of marriage records.

The volume of County Court Minutes dates 1853-1868, and contains the material ordinarily in such records. At the first part of the book there are recorded the elections of the county officers, and their filing the necessary bonds to assume the duties of their respective offices. There are recorded the names of the Justices of the Peace, and the jurors for each term of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions; acknowledgments of deeds, probaton of wills, appointments of many kinds, various court cases and the disposition of them, and other things of like nature. There are several wills recorded in this book, but in one case the will was recorded because of a protest on the part of the heirs and because that protest developed into a suit.

The book of marriage records is dated 1853-1874. In the first of this book the names of the couples married, the date of marriage, and the name of the person officiating are recorded. Later in the book, there are recorded the names of the parents of the couple married, the age, the color, the date of marriage, the date of issuing the license, the place of marriage, and the name of the person officiating, as well as his title.

JONES COUNTY

Jones County was formed in 1778 from Craven. Was named in honor of Willie Jones of Halifax. He was one of the leading Patriots of the Revolution, was President of the Council of Safety, and was opposed to the adoption of the Constitution of the United States.

There are only 8 volumes of material from this county, and they are County Court Minutes, which date as follows: 1807-1816, 1808-1810, 1816-1855, 1826-1832, 1833-1841, 1841-1851, 1851-1860, 1860-1868. These books contain material as was ordinarily recorded in court minutes. There are lists of the Justices of the Peace and the jurors for the different terms of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, acknowledgments of deeds, probaton of wills, the records of filing inven-

tories of estates, petitions of many kinds, orders for the providing of year's provisions, and for dowers, and things of like nature.

There is also one book of Inventories of Estates. This book contains inventories filed during the years 1808-1825.

There is no other material from this county.

LENOIR COUNTY

Lenoir County was formed in 1791 from Dobbs and Craven. Was named in honor of General William Lenoir, one of the heroes of Kings Mountain.

There are only three volumes of material from this county, and they were bound by the Historical Commission. The papers included in these three volumes were collected by Lovit Hines of Kinston. They date from 1737 to 1914, and include some that are undated. They consist of grants from both George II and George III, deeds, bonds, a few letters, a few pencil-drawn plats of land (most of the deeds and grants have drawings on them), bills of sale, and papers of like nature. By far the most numerous are the deeds, which include grants or deeds from the State, as well as from individuals. There are a few quitclaim deeds.

MARTIN COUNTY

Martin County was formed in 1774 from Halifax and Tyrrell. Was named in honor of Josiah Martin, the last of the royal governors of North Carolina. It is probable that this name would have been changed like those of Dobbs and Tryon, but for the popularity of Alexander Martin, who was governor in 1782 and again in 1790.

There is very little material from this county, and what volumes there are have been through a fire.

There is a pamphlet-like volume of the County Court of Equity, which is dated 1807-1829. The bottom of this book is burned, and it is in bad condition. It has only the proceedings of the Court of Equity in it.

There is another pamphlet-like volume of County Court Minutes for the year 1847. There is very little material in this volume, but what there is consists of what is ordinarily recorded in such records.

There is one large volume of deeds which dates 1774-1787. This book is in bad condition also. The leaves are badly worn and many of them are completely out. On account of the ragged leaves and those torn out, it is almost impossible to read all of the deeds.

MITCHELL COUNTY

Mitchell County was formed in 1861 from Yancey, Watauga, Caldwell, Burke, and McDowell. Was named in honor of Elisha Mitchell, a professor in the University of North Carolina. While on an exploring expedition on

Mount Mitchell, the highest peak east of the Rocky Mountains, Dr. Mitchell fell from a high peak and was killed. His body was buried on the top of this lofty mountain.

The only material from this county is one volume of County Court Minutes, which is dated 1861 to 1868. The material is that which was ordinarily recorded in court minutes. This county is a young county, and many of the books are still in use, and for that reason there is only one in the Historical Commission collections.

NASH COUNTY

Nash County was formed in 1777 from Edgecombe. Was named in honor of General Francis Nash, a soldier of the Revolution, who was mortally wounded while fighting under Washington at Germantown. The United States has erected a monument in his honor at the Guilford Battleground near Greensboro.

The material from this county consists of County Court Minutes and marriage bonds. The County Court Minutes as a whole are in very good condition, and run from 1778 to 1868, consecutively. They contain the material ordinarily recorded in court records. The things recorded are lists of the Justices of the Peace and the jurors for the different terms of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, acknowledgments of deeds, probations of wills, record of filing inventories of estates, appointments of road overseers, apprenticing of orphans, court cases, and there are a few wills, besides many kinds of petitions. There are also orders for the payment of bills, etc.

There are seven boxes of marriage bonds, which are arranged alphabetically.

NEW HANOVER COUNTY

New Hanover County was formed in 1729 from Bath. Was named after Hanover, a country in Europe whose ruler became King of England with the title of George I.

The majority of material from this county consists of County Court Minutes, of which there are 19 large volumes, besides 13 small pamphlet-like volumes. There are lists of taxables, and inventories of estates, Wilmington District Superior Court Trial Dockets, Execution Docket, Court Docket, Reference Docket, Sheriffs' bonds, lists of county officers, and lists of all officials. There are also 13 boxes of marriage bonds, one box of negro cohabitation certificates and marriage bonds, and one box with four small memorandum books in it, in which are recorded the names of men who were married and the year. These books run from 1791 to 1867.

The County Court Minutes begin as far back as 1737, and run to 1866. However, there are a few breaks in them. Besides the things

ordinarily recorded in them. there are a good many oaths of allegiance and certificates of desirability to become American citizens. There are more of them in this county than in any other county observed.

In the box labeled "Lists of taxables and Inventories," is some very interesting material. There is a bond of security of George W. Davis, who was appointed inspector of lumber and timber for 1843. There are inventories of estates, some of which include the libraries of the deceased person as well as his personal property. There is a list of taxables for the year 1782. This list gives the name of the persons, the number of acres of land, the number of negroes and their ages, the number of horses and mules, the cattle, the amount of stock in trade, carriage wheels, houses and lots, value of each person's property, and the total amount carried out. At the end of the list is a recapitulation of the whole list.

There is a trial docket for the Wilmington District Superior Court for the year 1756-58. There is a copy of the Wilmington District Execution Docket for the years 1786-1797. There is a copy of the Wilmington District Superior Court Trial Docket for the year 1786. There is also another for the year 1789, and still another for the year 1818.

There is a copy of the Wilmington District Court proceedings for the years 1789-1795.

There is a book which contains the bonds of the sheriffs for the years 1766-1775. This is the first book observed of this nature.

There is a small pamphlet-like volume which contains a list of the county officials for the year 1774-1790. The officers listed are magistrates, constables, searchers, overseers, and patrolmen. Opposite the name is recorded the district over which that person had charge.

There is a criminal and civil docket for the years 1796-1820. There is also a criminal docket for the years 1824-1828.

There is a small volume which contains the officers of all kinds for the years 1807-1812.

In addition to all these there is one box of negro cohabitation certificates and marriage bonds for the years 1866-1867.

There are 13 boxes of white marriage bonds, which are arranged alphabetically.

There are four small memorandum books in a box, which contain the names of some men who were married in certain years. These books extend from 1791 to 1867, but they are not complete.

In the volume of County Court Minutes, dated 1863-1866, in the front part is pasted the list of articles and papers which required revenue stamps.

NORTHAMPTON COUNTY

Northampton County was formed in 1741 from Bertie. Was named in honor of George, Earl of Northampton, an English nobleman. His son, Spencer Compton, Earl of Wilmington, was high in office when Gabriel Johnston was governor of North Carolina, and had the town of Wilmington named in his honor.

There are 12 volumes of County Court Minutes, one volume of orphans' estates, and two volumes of inventories of estates from this county, besides 11 boxes marriage bonds.

The County Court Minutes are dated as follows: 1792-1799, 1813-1816, 1817-1821, 1825-1829, 1829-1835, 1835-1839, 1839-1845, 1843-1844, 1856-1858, 1859-1863, 1863-1867, 1867-1868. These volumes contain such material as lists of Justices of the Peace and the jurors, both petit and grand, for the different terms of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions; acknowledgment of deeds; probaton of wills; appointments of different kinds; petitions for various things; court cases and their disposition, etc. In the minutes of 1865 is recorded the proclamation of W. W. Holden, provisional governor of North Carolina.

The two volumes of inventories of estates are dated 1781-1792 and 1787-1801, the last of which is properly indexed in the back. There is a detached index to the one dated 1781-1792.

There is a volume of orphans' estates, which is dated 1781-1801, and there is a detached index for it.

There are 11 boxes of marriage bonds, which are arranged alphabetically.

ONSLOW COUNTY

Onslow County was formed in 1734 from Bath. Was named in honor of Arthus Onslow, who for more than 30 years was Speaker of the House of Commons of the British Parliament.

The material from this county consists mostly of County Court Minutes, but there are a few wills, 6 boxes of marriage bonds, and one box of miscellaneous material, which consists of inventories of estates, land entries, and court papers.

The County Court Minutes begin at 1734 and run up to 1868. Most of these records are in pamphlet-like volumes, and some are in bad condition. They contain the material recorded in regular court minutes, which consists of such as follows: Lists of Justices of the Peace and the petit and grand jurors for the different terms of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions; acknowledgments of deeds, probaton of wills, appointments of various kinds, court cases, petitions for dowers, for year's provisions, petitions for partitions of land, sundry court orders, such as order for bridges to be repaired, etc.

There are two volumes of wills. These wills have been repaired and bound by the Commission. They date from 1757 to 1790, and among them there are some inventories of estates and sheets belonging to the index of inventories.

There is a box labeled "Inventories, Land Entries, Court Papers," which contains the Crown Docket for the years 1763-1766. There are tax lists for the years 1825-1827, land entries for 1785-1792, 1793-1796, writs for the years 1745-1746, 1754-1759, 1752-1759, 1762; inventories of estates, 1785; and loose leaves of court papers for 1746-1764.

There are 6 boxes of marriage bonds, which are arranged alphabetically.

One of the most interesting things is the way the officers obtained record books. They would secure the paper and then get newspapers and make the covers for them by pasting several papers together. There is part of a London paper serving as the cover of one volume. This paper is dated 1761. There is part of a North Carolina paper dated 1791 on another, and part of a North Carolina paper dated 1793 on still another volume. All of these made pamphlet-like volumes for the records.

ORANGE COUNTY

Orange County was formed in 1753 from Granville, Johnston, and Bladen. Was named in honor of William of Orange, who became King William III of England. He was one of the greatest of the Kings of England, and saved the English people from the tyranny of James II. His name is held in honor wherever English liberty is enjoyed.

There is a great deal of material from this county. In fact, there are few counties of which there is as much. There are 19 volumes of County Court Minutes, lists of taxables, a good many wills, negro cohabitation records, marriage bonds, and other material.

The County Court Minutes begin September 1752 and run to 1857. There are 19 of these volumes, which contain lists of the Justices of the Peace, lists of jurors both petit and grand, acknowledgment of deeds, probaton of wills, appointments of various natures, many kinds of court orders for the payment of debts, etc., petitions for partition of land, for year's provision, and for dowers, records of return of inventories of estate, apprenticing of orphans, and many other things of like nature. These books are dated as follows: 1752-1762, 1762-1766, 1777-1788, 1787-1795, 1795-1800, 1800-1804, 1805-1809, 1810-1814, 1815-1817, 1818-1822, 1822-1826, 1826-1831, 1831-1835, 1836-1839, 1840-1845, 1845-1847, 1847-1851, 1854-1857.

There is one volume of negro cohabitation records, which is dated 1866-1868. This is the first volume found which had the certificate recorded. Such certificates in other counties have been only sheets of paper.

There are four boxes of loose wills. These wills are arranged alphabetically, rather than chronologically.

There are several boxes which contain lists of taxables. From the standpoint of quantity there is a good collection of the lists of taxables from this county. They are for the years 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783, 1784, 1785, 1786, 1787, 1788, 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794, 1795, 1796, 1797, 1799, 1801, 1818.

There is a box labeled "Orange Letters and Printed Matter." This box contains such things as articles entitled "Waste of People's Money—Radical Extravagance," which is a comparison of expenditures for the years 1866-67 and 1868-69, letters from pension agents soliciting information for clients, personal letters, and a prospectus from John H. Wheeler for his History of North Carolina, also one for "The Republican," reports of the Comptroller of North Carolina for taxes collected, a circular letter sent out by citizens pleading for the non-division of Orange County. There are also lists of the people who voted in 1864, giving account of their votes for governor, senator, commons, and sheriff. The candidates were not recorded, consequently it cannot be judged for whom each man voted.

There is a small typewritten list of all material on this county, which is kept with the other material on this county, but the list is not good.

There are 26 boxes of marriage bonds, which are arranged alphabetically.

There is a book in which nothing is recorded except the acknowledgments of deeds. It contains the acknowledgments of deeds for the years 1742 to 1793.

PASQUOTANK COUNTY

Pasquotank County was formed in 1672 from Albemarle. Was named for an Indian tribe of the eastern part of the State. They first held court at Broomfield, then at Nixonton, and now at Elizabeth City.

There is more material from this county than from any county observed, and in addition to the quantity, there is a good variety in case a complete study of the county is to be made. The county is one of the oldest, and the material is likewise old. The material consists of County Court Minutes, Superior Court Minutes, Lists of Taxables, wills, deeds, patents, land entries, inventories of estates, commissions of various natures, settlements of estates, apprentice bonds for negroes, records of births, marriages, deaths, flesh marks, and cattle brands. Orphans' Court Minutes, records of the wardens of the poor, and marriage bonds.

The County Court Minutes are dated from 1741 to 1868, but they are not absolutely complete. However, they are nearly so. Some of the earlier minutes contain records of the reference dockets as well as records ordinarily recorded in such books. There are 12 large volumes of these records, which date from 1765 to 1868. From 1791 to 1868

the records are complete and in good condition. These records do not seem to have any unusual material recorded in them. There are such records as lists of the Justices of the Peace, the names of the jurors, both grand and petit, for the different terms of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, acknowledgment of deeds and bills of sale, probation of wills, various court orders, appointment of road overseers and of men to fill office, record of the sale of negroes for court cost, records of apprenticing children, records of the appointment of guardians and the replacement of them, records of oath of naturalization, and bonds to protect the wardens of the poor from the care of certain freed negroes, records of administrators qualifying, giving bond and returning inventories of estates, many court cases and the disposition of them, records of land to be sold for taxes, and many other things of like nature.

There are two volumes of Superior Court Minutes. These records are for the terms beginning March 1807 and ending in the spring term of 1828, and beginning at the fall term of 1852 and ending at the spring term of 1869. These records list jurors, both grand and petit, names of the constables, names of the presiding judges, and many decisions of the court, including some fines.

There are two boxes labeled "Lists of taxables," but there are other things included in one of these boxes, such as indentures of apprenticing, inventories of estates, personal letters, royal commissions for Justices of the Peace, attachments of goods by court orders, peace warrants, promissory notes, as well as tax lists. The tax lists are for different districts and cover different years.

There is a case labeled "Patents, Deeds, Land Entries, 1742-1787." This box contains material that is somewhat miscellaneous, since there are royal commissions of the Justices of the Peace, a bill for ministerial service by Dan Earl, and other things of like interest.

The collection of deeds for this county is larger than is usually found. There is a box with loose or original deeds which are dated 1732-1785. And in addition to this box, there are six volumes of copied deeds. Of course these are the regular record books, and they run from 1700 to 1785, with some years missing. In most of these volumes are indexes for the volumes which facilitate the finding of desired deeds.

There is a box of miscellaneous court papers, which contains warrants, bonds, lists of the jurors as they were drawn from the box, administrators' bonds, court executions, appearance bonds, powers of attorney and appearances.

There is a box labeled, "Records of slave matter. Emancipation, schools, processions." But as a fact there are in this box bonds of freed negroes, papers of the wardens of the poor, trials of negroes and the decision of the court, appearance bonds, a book of oaths, apprentice bonds, land possessions, etc.

There is a box of miscellaneous documents which contains commissions of Justices of the Peace by Governors Caswell, Samuel and Gabriel Johnston, Alexander Martin, George Burrington; ordinance for courts by James Glasgow, commissions as clerk by Nathaniel Rice, sheriffs' bonds, etc. These papers are dated from 1724 to 1789.

There is a box of settlements of estates, which are inventories of deceased persons. In addition to this box, there are two volumes of like material. These volumes are dated 1777-1792, and 1792-1798. In the back of each is the index by which you can find any particular settlement in which you are interested.

The next book of interest is the orphans' court minutes, which is dated 1757-1785. This book contains merely statements of the accounts of the orphans, some of which are rather in details while others contain just a few items with the balance due.

There is a box labeled "Inventories of Estates." It contains inventories of estates, divisions of land, a copy written by a teacher for her pupil to practice, court opinion against freeing slaves, letters, store accounts which are itemized, promissory notes, claims for right of way for road, attachments of property, bonds for keeping an ordinary, bills of sale, and marriage settlements.

There is a book of the wardens of the poor records. This book contains the records between 1807 and 1831, and the records are recorded according to the district of the county. All amounts paid either to wardens or individuals for particular persons were ordered at court at the term of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, and recorded as such.

There is a book of apprentice bonds, which is dated 1855-1861. This book has the printed form and it was only necessary to fill out the form to give bond to apprentice a negro by permission of the court. This is the first book found of this exact nature.

This is the first county of which there was kept a record of births, marriages, and deaths. There are two volumes of these, which date 1691-1797 and 1795-1822, and the last also contains records of flesh marks and cattle brands.

An example of the marriage and birth records is as follows:

Jon Baley and Penolopee Rapper Singlor were joined together in the holy estate of matrimony the 14th day of Dec. 1726.

John son of the said John and Penolopee was born the 27th day of Dec. 1729.

Mary daughter of the said John and Penolopee was born the 14th day of Dec. 1733.

Henry son of the said John and Penolopee was born the 8th day of Jan. 1736-7.

In the back of the last volume is the account of the county trustee for the year 1794, and further on in the back of the book there are

records of various claims against the county for years from 1798 to 1810.

There are three will books dating from 1762 to 1793. In the back of each book is an index.

There are 8 boxes of marriage bonds, which are alphabetically arranged.

PERQUIMANS COUNTY

Perquimans County was formed in 1672 from Albemarle. Was named after a tribe of Indians.

There is a large collection of material from this county, but most of it consists of inventories of estates. There are three volumes of County Court Minutes and two boxes which contain County Court Minutes. All the material, with the exception of the three volumes of County Court Minutes are in boxes. There are two boxes of deeds dating from 1737 to 1794.

There are four boxes of wills, dating from 1711 to 1808. These wills are arranged alphabetically.

There are twelve boxes of inventories of estates, none of which are later than 1800.

There are two boxes of taxables, which date from 1743 to 1836.

There is a box which has the register of births, marriages and deaths, dating from 1658 to 1820.

A box of precinct court records, dated 1688-1693 and 1735-1738, is the entire material of this nature.

The Court Papers, of which there are two boxes, are dated 1702-1816, and the papers are miscellaneous.

There is one box of material labeled "miscellaneous." This material consists of petitions, bonds, inventories of estates, etc.

In addition to this material, there are ten boxes of marriage bonds, which are arranged alphabetically.

The County Court Minutes contain the material usually recorded in such records. There are lists of the Justices of the Peace, lists of the jurors both grand and petit, acknowledgments of deeds, probation of wills, records of filing inventories of estates appointments of many kinds, etc.

PITT COUNTY

Pitt County was formed in 1760 from Beaufort. Was named in honor of William Pitt.

There is very little material from this county. There have been two fires in which most of the material was destroyed. There is, however, one box of county court papers, which date from 1761 to 1859. There is a list of a few persons who served in the Revolution and their length of service, a few lists of taxables and inventories of estates.

There are three volumes of County Court Minutes, which are dated as follows: 1858-1861, 1862-1867, and 1867-1868. These volumes contain the material ordinarily recorded in County Court Minutes. There are lists of the Justices of the Peace, the lists of jurors, court orders, cases tried, appointments of different kinds, and things of such nature.

There are only four marriage bonds from this county.

POLK COUNTY

Polk County was formed in 1855 from Rutherford and Henderson. Was named in honor of Colonel William Polk, who took part in Revolution at Germantown, Brandywine and Eutaw.

There is only one volume of County Court Minutes from this county, and it is dated 1847-48 and 1866-68. This book has very little material in it and nothing out of the ordinary.

There are two boxes of marriage bonds, which are arranged alphabetically.

RICHMOND COUNTY

Richmond County was formed in 1779 from Anson. Was named in honor of Charles Lenox, Duke of Richmond, principal Secretary of State in William Pitt's second administration. He was a strong friend of the American Colonies and made the motion in the House of Lords that they be granted their independence.

The material from this county is not great by any means. In fact, the entire collection consists of 10 volumes of County Court Minutes, which are dated as follows: 1779-1786, 1786-1792, 1800-1804, 1804-1808, 1809-1819, 1830-1838, 1838-1843, 1843-1847, 1847-1850, 1866-1868.

These records contain lists of the Justices of the Peace, jurors both grand and petit, appointments, acknowledgments of deeds, probation of wills, records of filing inventories of estates, and various court cases and their disposition, and the jury sitting on the cases. Nothing unusual seems to be recorded. There is one box of white marriage bonds, which date from 1858 to 1868; and there is also a case of negro marriage bonds which date from 1866 to 1868.

ROWAN COUNTY

Rowan County was formed in 1753 from Anson. Was named in honor of Mathew Rowan, a prominent leader before the Revolution, and for a short time after the death of Gabriel Johnston, acting governor.

There is almost no material from this county, there being only one box of County Court Minutes, which are dated 1750 to 1810, and the marriage bonds.

There are 11 boxes of wills from this county, which are arranged alphabetically. These wills are the originals, and are dated from 1757 to 1863.

ROCKINGHAM COUNTY

Rockingham County was formed in 1785 from Guilford. Was named in honor of Charles Watson Wentworth, Marquis of Rockingham, who was the leader of the party in the British Parliament that advocated American independence. He was Prime Minister when the Stamp Act was repealed.

There is very little material from this county. There are only three volumes of County Court Minutes and the marriage bonds.

The County Court Minutes date as follows: 1786-1795, 1796-1803, 1804-1808. There is nothing unusual recorded in these books.

RUTHERFORD COUNTY

Rutherford County was formed in 1779 from Tryon and Burke. Was named in honor of General Griffith Rutherford, one of the most prominent of the Revolutionary patriots. He led the expedition that crushed the Cherokees in 1776, and rendered other important services, both in the Legislature and on the battlefield.

There is just a small amount of material from this county, and there is nothing of variety in the collections. There are County Court Minutes, land entries, guardians' accounts, and marriage bonds.

The land entries are in a box and are dated from 1791 to 1803. There are two volumes of these books, besides a few leaves from another one.

There is one volume of guardians' accounts, which are for the years between 1840 and 1850. Some of these accounts are itemized, while others have just the totals with the proper oaths attached.

The collection of County Court Minutes is by far the greatest part of that material. There are 12 volumes, besides some that are unfit to be on the shelf, except they be in boxes. These minutes date from 1780 to 1868. However, there are some volumes missing in the collection. There are lists of the Justices of the Peace, the jurors both grand and petit for the different terms of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, acknowledgments of deeds, probations of wills, records of filing inventories of estates, many court cases, and there are oaths to obtain credit for Revolutionary service according to an Act of the General Assembly of 1832. These oaths give the age and names of the applicants for the credit.

There are marriage bonds from this county.

ROBESON COUNTY

Robeson County was formed in 1786 from Bladen. Was named in honor of Colonel Thomas Robeson, a soldier of the Revolution. He was one of the leaders at the battle of Elizabethtown, which was fought September 1781.

By this battle the Tories in the southeastern part of the State were crushed forever. The commander of the Whigs was Colonel Thomas Brown.

This is another county from which there is very little material. There is one box with a few wills in it, but there are not many. These wills are abstracted, and are dated from 1784 to 1806.

There is also one box of miscellaneous material. This box contains letters, bonds, tax returns to the Comptroller general, notices, etc.

There are also marriage bonds, which are arranged alphabetically.

STOKES COUNTY

Stokes County was formed in 1798 from Surry. Was named in honor of Colonel John Stokes, a brave soldier of the Revolution, who was desperately wounded at the Waxhaw massacre, when Colonel Buford's regiment was cut to pieces by Tarleton. After the war Washington appointed him a judge of the United States Court in North Carolina.

The material from this county is somewhat scanty. There are four volumes of County Court Minutes, which cover a period of ten years. They are dated as follows: 1790-1793, 1793-1795, 1795-1798, and 1798-1800. There is no unusual material in these volumes. There is a record of the Justices of the Peace, the jurors, probaton of wills, deeds, mortgages, etc., petitions of various kinds, appointments, etc.

There is one volume of inventories of estates, which is dated 1790 to 1809. There is an index to this volume by which can be located the estate sought. This index is detached from the volume.

There is one volume of Road Records, which is dated from 1806 to 1821. It gives the appointments of the road overseers and the roads over which they had charge. The appointments were made at the terms of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions.

There are two volumes of lists of taxables. They are dated as follows: 1790-1800, and 1800-1806. They contain the citizen's name, number of acres of land, number of polls, both white and black, and the total of his taxes. At the end of each year there is a recapitulation of of the entire tax returns and a list of insolvents.

There are 21 boxes of marriage bonds, which are arranged alphabetically.

SURRY COUNTY

Surry County was formed in 1770 from Rowan. Was named in honor of Lord Surry, a prominent member of Parliament who opposed the taxation of the American colonies by Parliament.

The only material from this county is one box of officers bonds. This box contains only a few bonds which date from 1786 to 1803.

TYRRELL COUNTY

Tyrrell County was formed in 1729 from Albemarle. Was named in honor of Sir John Tyrrell, who at one time was one of the Lords Proprietors.

The material from this county consists of County Court Minutes, marriage bonds, deeds, miscellaneous court records, and land entries.

The County Court Minutes begin in 1735 and run to 1868, but some of the minutes are missing. What we have are dated as follows: 1735-1761, 1758 (for September only), 1761-1770, 1770-1782, 1761-1782, 1783-1794, 1798-1811, 1819-1849, 1841-1865, 1865-1868.

There is no very unusual material on this county. The Minutes contain such things as lists of the Justices of the Peace, lists of the jurors both grand and petit for the different terms of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, acknowledgments of deeds, probation of wills, appointments of overseers, guardians, etc., special court orders, petitions of many kinds, granting licenses for operating ordinaries and selling liquors, etc.

There are few land entries for the years between 1778 and 1796.

There are a good many deeds of this county, which are dated from 1735 to 1819. There are two volumes and three boxes of these deeds and two boxes which contain deeds with other material.

There are 12 boxes of marriage bonds, which are arranged alphabetically.

There is also one box of miscellaneous court records, dated 1756-1786, and a tax list dated 1783.

WARREN COUNTY

Warren County was formed in 1779 from Bute. Was named in honor of General Joseph Warren, a brave Massachusetts soldier who fell while fighting the battle of Bunker Hill.

The material from this county consists of County Court Minutes, court-martial minutes, wills, inventories of estates, and marriage bonds.

The County Court Minutes are dated 1783 to 1854, but all the volumes do not run in chronological order. There are nine volumes of them.

There is one volume of court-martial minutes, which is dated 1791-1815. This book contains the names of the persons present at the regimental court martials and their titles, if such they had. It also has the proceedings of the regular business of the court and the record of the officers qualifying.

There are four boxes of inventories of estates, which date between 1779 and 1800.

There are also two boxes of wills, which are dated between 1779 and 1800.

There are 23 boxes of marriage bonds, which are arranged alphabetically.

WASHINGTON COUNTY

Washington County was formed in 1799 from Tyrrell. Was named in honor of George Washington.

There is only one volume of material from this county, and it is a volume of deeds, which is dated for the years between 1800 and 1801.

WAYNE COUNTY

Wayne County was formed in 1779 from Dobbs and Craven. Was named in honor of General Anthony Wayne, one of Washington's most trusted soldiers. His courage was so great as to amount almost to rashness, and his soldiers called him "Mad Anthony Wayne."

There is not as much material from this county as there is from some others, and neither is there a variety. There are a few County Court Minutes, a very few marriage bonds, inventories of estates, wills, and miscellaneous court papers.

The County Court Minutes date from 1787 to 1788. There is no unusual material in this set of minutes. There are lists of the Justices of the Peace, lists of jurors, court orders, petitions of many kinds, appointments of road overseers, etc.

There are five boxes of inventories of estates, which are dated 1780 to 1800.

There is one box of original wills, which are dated from 1782 to 1805. There are also nine small volumes of wills and inventories of estates, which are dated from 1782 to 1808.

There are two volumes of marriage bonds, each of which is indexed. Besides these, there are five marriage bonds in a case.

There is one box of miscellaneous court papers, which is dated 1780 to 1800.

WILKES COUNTY

Wilkes County was formed in 1777 from Surry and Burke. Was named in honor of John Wilkes. Wilkes was a violent opponent of the Tory party in England, who would not let him take his seat in Parliament to which he had been elected. The Americans imagined that he was suffering in the cause of liberty and named this county in his honor.

There is very little material from this county. There are a few County Court Minutes and the marriage bonds.

The County Court Minutes date from 1778 to 1797, but there is no unusual material recorded.

There is one volume of court records, which is dated 1778 to 1799. This volume contains bonds of many kinds, inventories of estates, powers of attorney, bills of sale, wills, contracts, etc.

There are 10 boxes of marriage bonds, which are arranged alphabetically.

YADKIN COUNTY

Yadkin County was formed in 1850 from Surry. Its name is derived from the Yadkin River, which runs through it. It is supposed to be an Indian name.

There is very little material from this county. There are only two volumes of County Court Minutes, and the marriage bonds.

The County Court Minutes date from 1856 to 1858 and from 1858 to 1868. There is no unusual material recorded in these volumes. There are lists of the Justices of the Peace, lists of the jurors both grand and petit, appointments, probations of wills, appointments of guardians, road overseers, and petitions of various kinds.

The marriage bonds are arranged alphabetically.

